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GASPARY'S HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

TO THE DEATH OF DANTE

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THE HISTORY OF
EARLY ITALIAN LITERATURE
TO THE DEATH OF DANTE

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF

ADOLF GASPARY

TOGETHER WITH THE AUTHOR'S ADDITIONS TO THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION (1887) AND WITH SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES (1887-1899)

BY

HERMAN OELSNER, M.A., PH.D.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

IT is curious that England, whilst venerating Dante, should neglect every other Italian writer. The fascinating volumes of John Addington Symonds have been widely read without arousing any marked interest in the works with which they deal Perhaps Dr. Garnett's "Short History of Italian Literature" is destined to bear more lasting fruit. But in the meantime the fact remains that Italian studies—Dante always excepted—are at a very low ebb in this country. It is difficult to assign an adequate reason for this state of things. Our educational and examining bodies, who have always treated Italian in a stepmotherly fashion, and who have within the last decade outdone themselves by withdrawing a measure of the scant encouragement formerly extended to it, are perhaps partly to blame. But this is not sufficient to account for the general apathy, which is probably due rather to the circumstance that the great *importance* of Italian literature, quite apart from its intrinsic beauty, is not recognised as it should be. As soon as students of Italian art and of English literature—to name only two branches of general interest—realise that some knowledge of Italian literature is wellnigh indispensable to them, we may expect to see Italian studies occupy the honourable position to which they are entitled.

The following pages, which represent only a portion of the first volume in the original, have been separated from the rest as being complete in themselves. It is hoped to issue a translation of the remainder of the work in due course.

In conclusion, I have to thank my friend and former colleague, Mr. A. W. Baker Welford, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, for kindly assisting me in the revision of the proofs.

H. O.

December, 1900.

DEDICATED

TO

THE CHERISHED MEMORY

OF

FRANCESCO DE SANCTIS

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HISTORY OF EARLY ITALIAN LITERATURE

I

MEDIEVAL LATIN LITERATURE IN ITALY FROM THE FIFTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

WHEN the Germanic tribes put an end to the Roman Empire, it was merely a shadow that they destroyed. But the recollection of the mighty past imparted even to this shadow an imposing grandeur; the Roman name and the mere idea of the Roman state were so powerful that the barbarians bowed before them, even whilst demolishing the reality. That power lasted on, and unceasingly influenced the destinies of Europe in the Middle Ages—those of Italy, indeed, till the most recent times. Traces of the ancient civilisation still remained, however much that civilisation itself was declining. In the Middle Ages a meagre classical tradition never ceased to exist, supplying in later centuries the connecting link for that revival of studies from which modern literary life takes its start.

When Odoacer in 476 had dethroned the last Roman Emperor of the West, he did not put himself in his place, but contented himself with the title of Patricius, making no essential change in the constitution. Similarly, when Italy was seized by the Ostrogoths, the Roman state continued to exist in name, and Theodoric regarded it as the true state, the Goths, indeed, forming the army and possessing the Empire: it was to be, however, not a Gothic, but the Roman Empire. In this very subordination of the real state of things to an idea that had become devoid of meaning lay the contradiction which involved the new state in speedy ruin.

Theodoric was filled with the same reverence for the Roman civilisation as for the Roman state. Though he himself could not even write, he fully recognised literary merit, made Cassiodorus his minister, and loaded him with honours. During his reign literature again flourished for a short time. Cassiodorus gave the state documents an artistic form, and did his utmost, by means of his compendiums, to diffuse scientific knowledge and, above all, to make it the property of the monasteries—a step that was fraught with importance for later ages. Boethius summed up once again, in a high degree, the culture of antiquity: he wrote the last original work of classical philosophy, the "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," so popular in the Middle Ages, and transmitted to succeeding generations the knowledge of a portion of Hellenic thought by means of his translations and commentaries of the Greek philosophical writings, especially of the logical works of Aristotle. Together with these two authors, who, living at the close of the classical period, were to exercise a very considerable influence on the knowledge of the Middle Ages, others of less importance appear, such as Ennodius, who at least preserved fairly intact the purity of the classical forms.

The short period of Greek domination which followed was, in 568, put an end to by the Lombards in the greater part of Italy. These acted differently to the other German tribes that had hitherto appeared. Coming as conquerors, they raged in the subjected lands with cruelty and covetousness, levelled towns to the ground, turned fruitful districts into deserts, sold Roman captives into slavery, and, as Arians, spared neither churches nor priests. And as the subjugation of the land was effected gradually and never completely, this wild and warlike state of affairs lasted for centuries. In the conquered districts the Roman nationality ceased to exist, the conquered being degraded to the condition of half-freedmen and of slaves. As these came to mingle more and more with the conquerors, a new Italian nationality arose. Once more Roman civilisation proved its power: even the Lombards came under its influence, especially after they had been converted to the Catholic faith. They adopted the habits of the Romans, their costumes and their manners; the conquerors learnt the language of the conquered, drew up in it

their laws, made use of it for public documents and religious services, and, at a later period, even showed interest in and ability for the pursuit of learned studies. They, for their part, bestowed on those they had vanquished even more precious gifts—new blood, vigour, and a sense of liberty, and, with these, the possibility of a fresh national development. Frequently the conquered were restored to liberty, thus coming to possess the same rights as the Lombards; the many struggles at home gave them the opportunity of attaining, by dint of courage, to honours and riches, while their common religious faith and frequent intermarriages bound together more and more closely the elements that had at first been so hostile to each other. Hence the Lombards, when their empire came to an end, had nothing foreign about them save their name, as Villani (ii. 9) and, after him, Machiavelli have remarked. They have become Italians, and remained an integral element of the nation, and the descendants of the Lombard stock played in later ages an important part in the political and intellectual life of the country.

The disparities that existed between those portions of Italy that had remained Roman and those that were occupied by the Germans, were more and more equalised. In this period of anarchy, when everything depended on the sword, the Romans that had degenerated in the time of the Emperors again began to carry arms. A national militia took the place of the mercenaries, and the military element, which contributed most largely to the preservation of the state, was awarded the foremost place. The Romans again became eager for and skilled in war; surrounded by barbarians, and constantly engaged in keeping them at bay, they became barbarians themselves. After the old constitutions and class distinctions had been suppressed, the upper and lower nobility were formed from the ranks of the soldiery and their leaders, as was done among the Germans. And with the disappearance of the national distinctions in manners and culture, the basis was formed for a political union of the country. But Rome was the seat of a power which would not let this come to pass, and which always took fresh steps to oppose the development of a strongly organised state—the power, that is, of the Papacy. The Bishop of Rome owed his privi-

leged position to the importance of the city as the former centre of the Empire; his political influence was increased by the fact that the sovereign, the Greek Emperor, lived far from Rome, and was possessed of no power. From the time of Gregory the Great (590-604) the Pope became the true ruler of Rome. The prohibition of the worship of images, and the troubles that consequently arose in Italy (726), completely severed the connection with Constantinople, and made the Pope independent. The spread of Christianity among all the Germanic tribes caused him to be universally regarded in the West as the Supreme Head of the Christian Church; and Italy, which had lost her supremacy in politics, regained it in matters of religion. However much Rome may have been declining outwardly, she maintained her lofty, ideal importance for mankind—she was the Holy City. But the price Italy had to pay for this spiritual supremacy was the fluctuation of her political destinies. The Popes, seeing their independence threatened by the Lombard Kings, called in the Frankish Kings, whose supremacy appeared to them less oppressive because it was far removed. Charles the Great destroyed the empire of the Lombards (774), and subjected the country to his own sway. When Leo III. crowned him Emperor in the year 800, he thought that, by doing so, he was merely renewing the Roman Empire, which, in the eyes of the Popes, continued to exist in the abstract, as the Power that ruled the world, dispensing justice and protecting the Church—an Empire, the existence of which had only been interrupted, not ended, by the invasions, and the idea of which was now realised anew in the shape of the Frankish Kings. This conception of the Empire as a continuation or restoration of the Roman universal monarchy reigned supreme till the end of the Middle Ages.

The long-enduring and terrible struggles which followed the downfall of the Lombards soon destroyed the literary life that had begun to flourish again under the Ostrogoth dynasty, and a period of general confusion set in. Weightier cares drove from men's minds all thoughts of poetry and philosophy. Added to this, there came religious fanaticism. Though the Fathers of the Church had, in the early ages of persecution, violently opposed Pagan art and literature as works of the devil, they became reconciled to them when Christianity

won the day, and the Church herself made use of classical culture as an instrument with which to rule the world. The Christian ideas were expressed in the ancient artistic forms, and in many writers a veritable mingling of Christian and Pagan elements may be remarked. Ennodius, who was Bishop of Pavia, and author of hymns, did not scruple to speak of Venus and Cupid in epithalamia, panegyrics and epigrams, seeing that classical mythology had become merely a rhetorical ornament, and that people had grown accustomed to putting an allegorical interpretation on its figures. This state of things was changed under Gregory the Great, who was hostile, or, at any rate, not favourably disposed to Pagan learning. Some sayings of his that have often been quoted even testify to the greatest contempt for the rules of grammar. This, however, was mere momentary exaggeration on his part, for he was not without culture, nor, certainly, was he filled with such a blind passion for destroying the relics of antiquity as was, later on, imputed to him. Still the fact remains that, at that time and for long after, it was just at Rome that the most abject ignorance reigned supreme. On the other hand, in the eighth century, scientific studies found a home among the Lombards. Their last Kings bestowed honours and gifts on grammarians and artists. Paulus Diaconus, the son of Warnefrid, of a noble family of Friuli, was a Lombard, who occupied an important position at the court of Desiderius at Pavia, and subsequently under the protection of Arichis, Duke of Benevento, and of his wife, Adelperga, Desiderius's daughter. He wrote his Roman History at the instigation of the latter, who is extolled by him for her acquaintance with poets, philosophers and historians. Later he entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, which he left for a few years (782) only at the wish of Charles the Great. Paulus and another Italian, the grammarian Peter of Pisa, who taught at Pavia, belonged to those scholars whom the Emperor attracted to his court, so that they might serve as instruments in the revival of studies on which he was bent. Here, at the Emperor's court, Paulus Diaconus aroused great admiration by the extent of his knowledge, which embraced the Greek tongue, and by the elegance of his verses. Thus some of his poems (such as the impassioned petition for his captive brother, the distichs on the

Lake of Como, the religious mood of which is mingled with a feeling for the beauty of nature, or the three fables), are not lacking in poetic charm. His most important work, the "History of the Lombards," Paulus wrote after he had returned to the peaceful life of the monastery of Monte Cassino.

The revival of scientific studies through Charles the Great, in which Italy also took part, suffered by reason of its purely religious tendency. The so-called liberal arts of the Trivium and Quadrivium were regarded only as aids to the study of theology, and the classics were read chiefly with a view to arriving at a better understanding of the Holy Scripture by reason of a closer acquaintance with the language. Besides, these tendencies of the great Emperor were personal and not supported by a general current of popular feeling, nor were they continued by his successors. His work was consequently not permanent in its results. The schools, concerning the erection of which in Florence and other towns of Northern Italy Lothair I. passed a decree in the "Constitutiones Olonnenses" (825), were intended only for the education of priests. In the following year Pope Eugene II. made a similar order for the Roman province, in which he required, as Charles the Great had done, that the instruction in the liberal arts should be carried on hand in hand with theology; but in the ratification of the edict by Leo IV. (853) it is confirmed only for sacred instruction, on the ground that no teachers could be found for the liberal arts, which, however, does not imply the cessation of grammatical instruction generally. The growing disorder in the state in the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries could not fail to increase the intellectual stagnation. The Saracens invaded the country from Africa, conquered Sicily (from 828), ravaged the coasts of the mainland, and, advancing as far as Rome, plundered the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The importance of the emperors had decreased already under Lothair, and still more under Lewis II., with whom the line of Carolingians ruling in Italy terminated (875). Thereupon the most pernicious political influences began to make themselves felt. The Popes and the nobles of the land could not brook the growth of a mighty power

in the state. In order to be able to maintain their independence or to pursue ambitious projects, they called in a distant ruler against the one that was present in their midst, and on his gaining the upper hand, they saw themselves threatened by a new one, and called in yet another, so that there was no end to turmoil and faction: *semper Italienses geminis uti dominis volunt, quatinus alterum alterius terrore coerceant*, wrote the penetrating historian Liutprand ("Antapod." i. 36). This is followed by the struggles of the German and French Carolingians for the Italian crown; by the unsuccessful efforts to found a native kingdom, made by Guido and Lambert of Spoleto, and by Berengar of Friuli, who had to fight against Lewis of Provence and Rudolph of Upper Burgundy; and by the somewhat longer rule of Count Hugo of Provence, who was in his turn supplanted by the Margrave Berengar of Ivrea. At length, in 962, Otto the Great united the empire and the Italian kingdom with the empire of Germany. During these struggles for the crown the Saracens of Spain became masters of the district of Frassineto in Liguria, while those of Sicily settled on the banks of the Garigliano and again infested the neighbourhood of Rome. Meanwhile, Lombardy was ravaged by the Hungarians, who, in 994, burnt Pavia. It was only temporarily that the Papal power increased through the decline of that of the Emperor; it had thereby deprived itself of its protection, and degenerated in its own city into a degrading state of dependence, becoming the tool of parties, threatened by the infidels and by the powerful nobles of Italy. The person of the Chief Pontiff lost its sanctity, and the history of that age is full of cases of deposition and captivity, of terrible ill-treatment and murder to which the popes were exposed. The period of the deepest humiliation was the first third of the tenth century, when courtesans of high rank, the senator's wife Theodora, and her daughters Marozia and the younger Theodora, disposed of the Papal chair at their pleasure, and filled it with their tools, their lovers, and their natural sons. At the same time, the angry feeling against the priestly rule began to make itself felt among the Roman people, as well as the patriotic pride which was kindled by misty conceptions of antiquity and by vague recollections of former greatness. Alberic, the son

of Marozia, already made use of these feelings of the Romans, when he stirred them up against King Hugo, and set up in the city a completely secular and aristocratic republic, at the head of which he placed himself with the title of *Princeps et Senator omnium Romanorum*, leaving to the Popes nothing but the spiritual power (932-954). And so there was, till the appearance of Otto the Great, no power in Italy which would have been able to check the prevailing anarchy.

However, even in this wretched period of Italian history, it is still possible to follow the traces of a scientific and literary tradition. The study to which the Italians were always especially addicted, and which they never entirely neglected, was that of grammar, which was regarded as the basis and starting-point of all intellectual culture: *ratio et origo et fundamentum omnium artium liberalium* it was called by Hilderic of Monte Cassino, a pupil of Paulus Diaconus, in the first half of the ninth century.[1] Names of grammarians are also preserved from the ninth and tenth centuries, and the existence of schools intended for this study cannot be doubted. As people wrote, and on all public occasions spoke, a tongue, namely, Latin, that was becoming more and more a dead language, some grammatical instruction was indispensable. This was, it is true, restricted to what was absolutely essential, to imparting a scanty, lifeless, and pedantic knowledge; but it had, at least, the merit of preserving by a slender thread the classical tradition; and of transmitting the names of the authors and a superficial acquaintance with their works, which people read in the schools without grasping their spirit.[2] The Italians of that time were so much taken up with the language and perusal of the ancient poets, that they neglected all other studies, especially that of theology, which was the real science of the time, and in which they were behind the other nations. The theological scholars who taught and wrote in Italy, such as Ratherius of Verona or Hatto of Vercelli, were foreigners. Soon pious men begin to com-

[1] Tosti, "Storia della Badia di Monte-Cassino," i. 280. Napoli, 1842.

[2] Cf. Comparetti, "Virgilio nel Medio Evo," i. 100, 104. Livorno, 1872.

plain of those that devote themselves entirely to secular and pagan science, discard divinity, and prefer the fables of antiquity to sacred history. The French chronicler, Radulphus Glaber, tells, under the year 1000 ("Historiarum," lib. ii., cap. 12), of a certain Vilgardus at Ravenna, who had devoted himself entirely to the study of grammar, "as, indeed, it was always customary among the Italians to neglect the other arts, and cultivate only that one": demons had then appeared to him one night in the shapes of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, thanked him for devoting such loving care to their works, and for spreading their fame, and promised him that he would share in the latter. This had made him proud, so that he had taught many doctrines against Christianity, and had maintained that absolute credence must be given to the words of the poets. Finally, he had been condemned by the Bishop Peter as a heretic. "Then," closes the chronicler, "others appeared in Italy who shared in this fearful error, and likewise met their death by fire or sword." From this it appears that some were already filled with a passionate idolatry for antiquity, which was persecuted by the Church as dangerous. But the best testimony to the continuance of these studies in Italy is supplied by two literary productions, a poem and a history, which are entirely imbued with their spirit. The Panegyric on the Emperor Berengar by a poet who remains anonymous, but was undoubtedly a Lombard, and who describes himself in the prologue as being but one of many who then devoted themselves to the art of poetry, was written during the lifetime of its hero, that is, between the years 914 and 924. In hexameters that are not unskilful and mostly correct, though the style is frequently laboured and obscure, the author celebrates the emperor as a hero of antiquity; he quotes Homer and Virgil, everywhere imitates the classical epics in invocations, similes, descriptions and speeches, and even inserts into his poem verses and longer passages, which are literally borrowed from Virgil, Statius, and Juvenal. We also find here already that ostentatious show of Greek words so frequent among the Latin poets of the Middle Ages; the whole poem bears a Greek superscription.[1] An equally

[1] E. Dümmler, "Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris." Halle, 1871.

surprising knowledge of the classical authors is displayed by the somewhat later historian Liutprand (d. in 972 as Bishop of Cremona), who described the storms and crimes of those wild times with the sharp eye of a man of the world, and with a keen sense of actuality. In his principal work, which narrates the events from 888 till 950, he now and again, and sometimes at the most unsuitable passages, changes over from prose to verse in various metres, following in this the example of Boethius's "Consolatio." He, too, likes to quote pieces of the old poets, mingled with sayings from the Bible, knows classical history and mythology, gives things their classical names (always, for example, calling the Saracens of Africa Pœni), everywhere parades his knowledge of Greek, which he had acquired at Constantinople on the occasion of his frequent embassies, and likewise gives his book a Greek title, "Antapodosis" ("Repayment"), as his history was to be a judgment of his enemies, Berengar of Ivrea and his wife Willa.[1]

While the panegyric on Berengar and the writings of Liutprand represent the efforts of the schools, we have a remarkable remnant of the popular poetry of this period in the rough poem which relates and laments the capture of the Emperor Lewis II. by Adalgisus, the ruler of Benevento (871). The verse is the trochaic catalectic tetrameter of the Roman soldier-songs, but treated almost throughout as a rythmical (accentuated) verse, and even as such not regularly :

> Audite omnes fines terræ errore (l. horrore?) cum tristitia,
> Quale scelus fuit factum Benevento civitas.
> Ludhuicum comprenderunt sancto, pio, augusto,
> Beneventani se adunarunt ad unum consilium . . . .[2]

In the endings of the words, in the use of the cases without flexional distinctions, in the employment of the pronouns

[1] Migne, "Patrologia," Ser. Lat., t. 136. The Sapphic Carmen on the Bishop Adalhard of Verona (cf. Dümmler, l. c., p. 134 ff.) shows how skilfully writers could still handle the classical metres.

[2] Du Méril, "Poésies populaires antérieures au XII^e siècle," Paris, 1843, p. 264 ff. It is a *carmen alphabeticum*, that is to say, each section of three verses begins with a letter according to the order of the alphabet. This proves that the poem has come down incomplete, and that the last two verses, which begin with a J, are out of their place, and should come at the close of the emperor's speech.

and numerals as articles and the like, the language is already Italian in many respects, though Italian used but cautiously as yet. At any rate it is clear that Latin, though no longer the speech of everyday life, was still understood without difficulty by the people in this deteriorated and vulgarised form. Still, it is doubtful whether we are therefore justified in assuming the existence in these early times of a rich literature of Latin popular poetry now lost, as some literary historians have done. The other poem which is generally quoted as a relic of this literature, the Summons to the defenders of Modena to maintain vigilance when the town was besieged by the Hungarians (924)[1] has already a very different character, and testifies to no slight culture on the part of the author, in thought and form. In other writings people have thought they recognised the traces of old epic songs. In the first half of the eleventh century, a monk of Novalese, at the foot of Mont Cenis, wrote in barbarous Latin the history of the monastery, and introduced into his childishly simple account all kinds of legendary traits.[2] Here we find the history of Walter of Aquitaine, which is for the greater part borrowed from the Latin poem written in Germany, but contains additions concerning the later years of the hero, his entry into the monastery of Novalese, where he fills the humble office of gardener, the re-awakening of his old love of war, when the monastery is pillaged by the soldiers of King Desiderius, and the terrible injuries he inflicts on his enemies with a stirrup and the bone of a calf, for want of other arms. We are told of Charles the Great and the end of the Lombard rule, of Charles's victory over the robber Eberardus, of the Lombard minstrel who, dancing and singing before the King of the Franks, offers to point out to him the safe approach into the country, of the treachery and death of the daughter of Desiderius, of the gigantic Algisus (Adelchi), who on horseback lays low his enemies with an iron club, the rings on whose arms touch Charles's shoulders, and who, at table, crushes the bones and swallows the marrow like a lion. These tales of the monk are without doubt based on living tradition and testify to the existence of popular legends in Northern Italy;

[1] Du Méril, "Poésies populaires antérieures au XII^e siècle," p. 268 ff.
[2] "Chronicon Novaliciense, Monumenta Germaniæ," Script. vii. 73.

but whether these were ever clothed in poetic form, and, if so, in what language, we do not know.

With the eleventh century begins a revolution in the intellectual life of Italy. The political relations enter again into a more settled state. It is true that the union of the nation is not effected, but in its stead the power of the communes develops together with the fertilising action of liberty, and with the want of a more able administration of the state—a want that rouses the intellectual faculties of the citizens. The conflict for great interests, the struggle between Emperor and Pope, violently moves men's minds, and calls for intellectual weapons. The conquest of Sicily by the Normans, the sea-fights of the Pisans and Genoese, and the expeditions to the East bring Christendom into closer contact with the Mussulmans and make them acquainted with their civilisation.

Through the efforts of Otto the Great Italy was again united under one sceptre, but without enjoying political independence; the imperial crown and the kingdom of Italy belonged to Germany, and Italy, which was nominally the ruling country, was in reality a subject province. This continued to be the lasting contradiction between the old idea of the Roman Empire and the actual state of affairs. The young Emperor Otto III. wished to put an end to this. Filled with the notions of classical literature into which he had been initiated by his master Gerbert, and at the same time burning with religious ardour, he determined to make the Roman Empire really what its name implied, and to take up his residence in Rome; but he soon died, and none of his successors was inclined to take up again his fantastic plan. In the meantime the distant empire was not able to check for any length of time the aspirations of the nobles. The Emperor was perhaps respected when close at hand; but as soon as he returned to Germany, the princes, bishops and towns pursued their own interests. In opposition to Henry II., a native King, Hardouin of Ivrea, was set up. Finally, all the elements hostile to the Empire became centred in the Pope. In Rome the old causes of discontent went on with few interruptions—the power over the Papal See exercised by the Counts of Tusculum, the descendants of the family of Alberic, the immorality of the Popes and

the deposition of and opposition to several that had been elected. At last Henry III. dealt firmly with this net-work of impure passions, set up four German Popes one after another, freed the Papal See from party influences, and reserved for the Emperor the right of taking part in the elections of the Popes and of confirming them. It was, however, just by these means that the foundations of the momentous struggle between the spiritual and secular powers were laid. With the recovery of her dignity, the Church gained more and more authority, and began to strive for complete independence, and then for the rule of the world. This movement was led by Hildebrand, as counsellor of Leo IX. (from 1059) and of his successors, and was continued by him as Pope Gregory VII. (1073—1085). The bonds which linked the clergy to the world and made them serve its interests, were loosened by the prohibition of simony, of the marriage of priests and of lay investitures, and by conferring on the cardinals alone the right of choosing the Pope, without any interference on the part of Emperor or people. By thus freeing and secluding herself, the Church raised herself above all worldly power, which could not be anything without her consecration, and could lawfully exist only through her instrumentality. Innovations of such harshness, an undertaking of such gigantic boldness, at first met with the most violent opposition even in Italy itself; and yet the ideal of Gregory and his successors was deeply rooted in the thoughts and feelings of the Italian people. Through it the Papacy inherited the Roman idea of a world monarchy which men's minds could not get rid of; first this monarchy appeared to be renewed in the shape of the Empire, and now the Papacy and Empire fought for its possession the fiercest battle of the Middle Ages. However, the Pope's was a spiritual power. He would not suffer the growth of a powerful foreign rule in Italy, but at the same time he himself could not become the sovereign of the country, nor could he do anything beyond keeping up the incessant factions and struggles. In his most immediate neighbourhood his authority was least respected: at Rome he was not able to combat the intrigues of the nobles and the rebellions of the people. The mighty Gregory himself, whose word shook

the world, was forced to fly from the city owing to the state of revolt, and to die in exile. With the help of their secular allies, the Popes succeeded in breaking the power of the Emperors in Italy; but they did not supplant them, did not attain the desired supremacy for any length of time, nor indeed ever entirely, but were themselves finally overcome by other temporal rulers.

Out of the decline of the imperial power arose a new political organism, that of the free communes, which displayed an abundance of strength and vigour, and in which were laid the foundations of the first great period of Italian literature and art, but which contained, at the same time, in their isolation and their municipal egoism, the germs of corruption. The free commune, as opposed to the feudal system, the prevailing form of constitution in the Middle Ages, appeared in Italy earlier than in any other European country. In the period of anarchy in the ninth and tenth centuries, during the endless struggles for the throne and the invasions of the Saracens and Hungarians, the towns began to acquire greater importance; their walls offered secure shelter, and they became a refuge for the remnants of civilisation, for industry and commerce. Slowly and secretly was formed the independent constitution of the community; its representatives, probably derived from the institution of the sheriffs (*judices*) of the old German law, kept on extending their authority, and gradually transferred to themselves the magisterial rights from the counts and bishops who had exercised them.

At the beginning of the twelfth century most of the towns of Lombardy were in full possession of their liberty. At their head were magistrates, who bore the title of consuls; and, in addition to these, a council of distinguished men and the assembly of the citizens (*Parlamentum*), summoned only in exceptional cases, took part in the government. The office of the consuls was not everywhere the same, their number varying (between five and twenty), as also their term of office (generally a year); but everywhere the use of this classical name testifies to the completion of the new constitution, and to the consciousness of its independence. The Italian commune did not spring from the municipality of ancient Rome, and so the name of its magistrate did not rest on an old

tradition. However the communes, in the form they had now assumed, recalled the old Roman republic, which was present to men's minds as the ideal of liberty and power, and which it was hoped to revive also in that name.

In this way the classical ideas everywhere influenced the political developments of Italy, the empire, the papacy, and the municipalities; everywhere, in spite of the great differences, there was felt to be a link with the ancient state of things, and as every progressive step was made men looked back to that time of incomparable power and greatness, as if they had now, after the dark period of bondage under the barbarian yoke, again found their true national institutions. And having won their liberty, the towns defended it in a heroic struggle. When Frederick I., without regard for the existing conditions, enforced the old imperial rights again to their full extent, when he put down all opposition with an iron hand and destroyed the revolted Milan, and when his procurators and *podestà* then exercised an oppressive and unbearable sway, the great Lombard League was formed. In his struggle with the Emperor, the Pope recognised the communes as his mightiest allies, and became from that time the protector of municipal liberty. The conflict ended with Frederick's defeat at Legnano (1176). The Peace of Constance (1183) confirmed the independence of the cities; the emperor retained some prerogatives, but only in theory.

This liberty, however, which the Italian cities had obtained, was municipal, not national; the supremacy of the Empire was not disputed, and no one in those days thought of the independence of Italy. The patriotism which those struggles called forth was intended by each individual only for his own city, not for the country: a national feeling did not as yet exist in Italy. People imitated Rome, strove for fame and power, but each of the small republics worked for itself. And so the result was not the strengthening and union of the nation, but, on the contrary, a splitting-up into isolated divisions, which could not fail to be attended by the most pernicious consequences sooner or later. The Lombard League, that had held together for fifty years, was broken up as soon as the common danger was at an end. The communes soon fought against one another. The stronger en-

deavoured to crush the weaker, in order to extend their own territory; some stood by the Emperor, the others by the Pope, and a medley of cruel and pitiless feuds rent Italy asunder. Added to this came the divisions in the cities themselves, the struggles of the parties, which finally led to the most oppressive, tyrannical rule, bringing to a speedy termination this brilliant, though still barbarous period of the Italian republics. In Northern Italy this took place as early as in the thirteenth century. In Tuscany the development was slower; the powerful Margraves maintained their rights longer, and the communes were surrounded by great feudal families, who made it more difficult for them to extend their territory. Though the cities of Tuscany, and especially Florence, did not attain the importance of the Lombard cities till later, they were able on that account to maintain their independence for a much longer period.

While the old Roman liberty seemed to be reviving under new forms in the communes of Northern and Central Italy, a remarkable attempt was made in Rome itself to set up a real Roman republic in its former state. Here not only did there remain nothing of the ancient institutions, but under the Papal rule not even analogous systems could gain ground, as was the case in the dominions of the bishops and counts. To a greater extent than elsewhere the classical titles continued to be used, but they had entirely lost their former signification. The wild and warlike nobles called themselves as a body *senatus*; this designation was also applied to women, and the title of *senatrices* was hereditary in the family of Alberic. Later on the great barons called themselves *consules*, also without holding any special office. In the year 1143 the people rose against the nobles and the pope, in one of those transitory fits of patriotic and classical enthusiasm for the ancient fame of the all-powerful city, which frequently recurred from time to time. The agitation differed in character from the earlier one under Alberic. In the two centuries that had passed since then, the knowledge of antiquity had progressed; formerly men were satisfied with an independent government of the nobles, now the people were to rule, and a senate of twenty-five members was constituted on the Capitol. The monk Arnaldo of Brescia, a pupil of Abelard, full of noble zeal, preaching the reform

of the Church, the purity of morals, and the poverty of the clergy, took the lead of the movement. For the new free constitution they sought the protection of the Emperor, whose rights they thought they were defending; the Republic wrote to Conrad III. (1149), and called on him to take possession of Rome, the capital of the world, and from there to rule over Italy and Germany. In the year 1152 there was a fresh rising. Two thousand of Arnaldo's followers leagued together, and modelled the constitution still more closely on the type of that of ancient Rome, with a hundred senators and two consuls; and as the Emperor did not heed their invitations, they also thought of placing at the head of the state an Imperator chosen by themselves. When Frederick I. then appeared, the ambassadors of the *senatus populusque romanus* came before him with grandiloquent and presumptuous language; but he scoffed at their hollow phrases, and delivered Arnaldo into the power of Pope Hadrian IV., who had him burnt. Thus ended this noble dream of a free Roman state; it was based on antiquarian and fantastic aspirations, seeking satisfaction in external display, in names and phrases, without heeding the pettiness of the things as they really were, which contrasted strangely with the forms in which they were clothed. But this unsuccessful effort to introduce the ideas of antiquity into contemporary politics serves to characterise the spirit of those times.

The great maritime cities shared largely in the glory of Italy in the Middle Ages, on account of their bold voyages and their expeditions against the Saracens of Spain and Africa. Foremost among them were those cities of the South that had remained Greek but were almost independent—Gaeta, Naples and Amalfi; allied with the Pope, they defeated the Mussulmans at Ostia in 849 and at the Garigliano in 916. As early as in the second half of the tenth century the Pisans did not confine themselves to defensive tactics, and attacked the enemy in Sicily. The liberation of Sardinia by the Pisans and Genoese (1015), the first example in the West of a large expedition against the Saracens, made the Italians masters of the Mediterranean. The landing in Africa and the capture of Bona (1034), caused much excitement in the whole of the West as a

triumph of Christendom over Islam.[1] These were followed by other glorious feats of arms of the Pisans, partly in alliance with the people of Genoa and Amalfi; especially notable are the occupation of Mehdia, the capital city of Northern Africa (1087), which forced the Arabian ruler to make a humiliating peace, and the conquest of the Balearic Isles after an obstinate struggle (1113-1114). Venice, which was to become the most important of these maritime republics, and such a factor in the political life of Italy, came on the scene later, and gave for the first time proof of her great power in the crusades. In all these struggles against the Saracens, the interests of religion and those of commerce were from the beginning mixed together in a peculiar manner, and the former yielded more and more to the latter; the subjugation of tracts of land and the setting up of factories became the main object. And so the Italians took part in the crusades in a different spirit to the other nations. Already more enlightened, and occupied with the development of their municipal liberty and with the increase of their wealth, they were prompted to go to the East, not so much by religious feeling, by a spiritual longing to see the Holy Land, or the quest for wonders and adventures, as by the desire to attain political and commercial advantages.

Here, again, it was no national spirit that animated the enterprises of the maritime cities. Just as the communes in general, so, too, each of them individually, thought only of the extension of their own power; the great successes were the cause of jealousy among the republics, and the rivalry of their interests brought about dissension. Thus immediately after the first great victory, the capture of Sardinia, the allies disputed as to the possession of the island. The enmity continued, and led to the long and fierce war between Genoa and Pisa, in which the latter city eventually suffered defeat. This was followed by the endless struggle between Genoa and Venice, which broke out again and again, and occupied the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus it was the destiny of Italy, that, for want of a united government, each political force should become the

[1] Michele Amari, "Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia," vol. iii., parte i., p. 13. Firenze, 1868.

source not of a common and lasting power, but of one struggle after another.

The destinies of the South had in the meantime taken quite a different course to those of Northern and Central Italy; while the latter territory was governed by a municipal constitution, a strong feudal monarchy arose in the former. Bands of Normans, that had appeared since 1017, took advantage of the state of confusion arising from the struggles between Greeks, Lombards and Saracens. Thus, from being bold adventurers, by dint of force and cunning they gradually came to be rulers of the southern continent, under the guidance of the princes of the house of Hauteville. Quickly they became nationalised, and were no longer regarded as foreigners. They had brought with them from France the constitution of their country, and founded their state on the feudal system, which had never really taken root in the rest of Italy. Political considerations induced them to acknowledge the supremacy of the Church, a step which was the source of great danger to the State in later ages. But the support and consecration of the Pope gave their wars of conquest the stamp of crusades. The long struggle also in Sicily was in the nature of a crusade: Count Roger, in the course of thirty years of indefatigable energy (1061-1091), snatched the entire island from the power of the Mussulmans. Strong faith, together with valour and cunning, gained the Normans their victory. Count Roger, however, became very tolerant through being in constant contact with Greeks and Arabs, and, with his keen intellect, divining the real aims of the Court of Rome; he did not interfere with the worship of the Mohammedan population, soon received numerous Mussulmans into his army, and, it is said, even forbade their going over to the Christian faith. During the reign of Roger II., who united under his sway the island and the Norman portion of the mainland, and took the title of king (1130), Saracen soldiers, sailors and engineers were a strong support in the struggles against the barons and the Pope.[1] At Palermo the Court itself assumed an oriental aspect. Roger, a great king and statesman, possessed at the same time an intellect that was eager for every

[1] Amari, l. c., p. 396 ff.

kind of knowledge. Favoured by him, the arts and sciences of the Mohammedans flourished again, after the storms of the wars of conquest. Magnificent palaces and gardens sprang up according to the taste of the East; Arabian poets celebrated the King, and the splendour of his Court; the learned Edrisi composed his geographical work, the most important of the Middle Ages, in the execution of which the King took the keenest interest; and the Admiral Eugene translated the Optics of Ptolemy from Arabic into Latin. In the reigns of William the Bad and William the Good, the Mohammedan population diminished more and more; Frederick II. put down the last of the rebels among their number, and transferred them to the military colony at Lucera in Apulia, where they could adhere to their faith without hindrance. But for more than a century the Italians on the island had been in contact with a civilisation that was richly developed, and at that time superior to their own: hence it did not fail to exercise effectual and fruitful influence.

Roger II. called himself at his coronation *Siciliæ atque Italiæ rex;* but, though one of the most powerful princes of his time, he did not attempt to change the kingdom of Sicily into a kingdom of Italy. He could not hope to be equal to the triple opposition of the Pope, the Communes, and the Emperor, and directed his designs against the South and East instead. Henry VI. united the Empire with the throne of Sicily, and the combination of these two procured for his son Frederick II. a position such as no ruler in Italy had enjoyed since Otto the Great. Added to this, he was no foreigner, but an Italian born, and had his residence in Italy itself. The opportunity of forming the whole country into one State seemed at last to have come, and Frederick wanted to take advantage of it. But it was too late. As usual the Papacy opposed him, hurled the ban of excommunication and the decree of deposition against the Emperor, and found allies in the Guelph communes and the small dynasties of Lombardy, in rebellious vassals in the kingdom of Sicily, and in the German princes. Frederick for his part meant in all earnest to destroy the secular power of the Pope, and to make Rome subject to himself in reality. The fresh and terrible struggle between Church and Empire

that followed brought about the fall of the House of Hohenstaufen. And with that dynasty disappeared the last prospect of the revival of political unity, and Italy remained at the close of the Middle Ages in its old state of division.

The causes which, after the eleventh century, brought about a fresh intellectual movement, were for the most part at work in the other countries of Europe as well as in Italy, and led, in the twelfth century, to a period of considerable culture, though differing from ours, to a Pre-Renaissance that already studied antiquity, but reproduced it in a form that was false and distorted, and transformed by contemporary ideas. But the Italians were in advance of the other nations in taking up scientific studies again with more vigour; the beginnings of these we already find among them towards the middle of the eleventh century. One reason for this is, without doubt, as Giesebrecht pointed out, the continuance of a stronger classical tradition, the predilection with which men had cultivated grammatical studies, and had thus kept up at any rate a superficial knowledge of the authors. But, besides this, classical culture could not fail to be revived more easily and quickly, and to influence the ideas of the time, in the land in which it had sprung up, and in which the ruins of its mighty monuments appealed to the imagination of new generations more powerfully than anywhere else. Another point in which the Italy of that day differed from the other Western countries, was the greater diffusion of culture, the benefits of which were shared not only by the clergy, but also to a certain extent by the laity. Ratherius of Verona mentions private schools as well as the schools attached to cathedrals and convents, and documents contain the names of teachers without any clerical title. The German Wippo, in his panegyric on Henry III., exhorts the Emperor to urge, in Germany also, the nobles to send their sons to school, and to have them imbued with literary culture and with a knowledge of the laws, as had formerly been the case in Rome, and as was still customary among the Italians:

> Hoc servant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti,
> Et sudare scholis mandatur tota iuventus.

It is true that the results of this important difference do not show themselves till later; at the beginning, literary activity

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is in Italy, too, to be found only among the clergy, and it is chiefly the monasteries that are the true seats of learning.

The venerable old abbey of Monte Cassino, founded in 529 by S. Benedict, as one of the chief centres for the monastic life of the West, destroyed in 589 by the Lombards, rebuilt in 718, again destroyed by the Saracens in 884, and restored about 950, developed a great artistic and literary activity under the rule of the excellent abbot, Desiderius (from 1057), who afterwards became Pope Victor III. The monastery and church were splendidly renovated with old Roman marble pillars, Greek mosaics, and valuable bronze doors. Manuscripts were carefully copied and adorned with miniatures. The monks, Alphanus, who became later Archbishop of Salerno (1057-1085), and Gaiferius, treated religious subjects in the metres of ancient lyrical poetry, and with a perfection of form and purity of language that deserve the greatest admiration for those times; in Alphanus there are imitations of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal. Another monk, Amatus of Salerno, wrote (about the year 1080) the history of the Norman conquest, which has been lost in the Latin original, and is preserved only in an Old French translation. Constantinus Afer of Carthage, who, having in the course of long travels in the East, become master of the learning of the Arabians, fled about the year 1077 from persecutions in his country and entered the monastery of Monte Cassino. He translated medical works from Arabic and Greek into Latin, and in this way, considerably furthered, as it seems, the beginnings of the medical school at Salerno. Pandulphus of Padua composed a large number of works on astronomical subjects. Finally the favourite studies of the Italians, grammar and rhetoric, are represented by Alberic, a man of unusual versatility, who also wrote theological works, verses in classical form, and popular rhythms, treatises on music and astronomy. In his "Rationes Dictandi," and in the "Breviarium de Dictamine," he evolved for the first time the new theory for handling artistically the epistolary style, with its five divisions of the *Salutatio*, *Captatio benevolentiæ*, *Narratio*, *Petitio*, and *Conclusio*, which remained for centuries the basis of the precepts in the epistolary guides. His familiarity with the writers of antiquity is seen especially in

another little book, the "Flores Rhetorici;" or, "Dictaminum Radii," which contains the rules for composition and style, and takes examples from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Terence, Persius, Lucan, Cicero, and Sallust.

A similar period of scientific activity began in Lombardy simultaneously with that in Southern Italy. Parma was renowned as a seat for the study of the liberal arts, and the schools of Milan were also in high repute. To these parts belongs Anselm the "Perapetician," as he called himself in the "Rhetorimachia," the only one of his works that has been preserved. This treatise gives us several details concerning his life. Born near Pavia, of noble family, he was a pupil of the "philosopher" Drogo, who taught in Parma, became member of the clergy of Milan, went later to the court of the Emperor Henry III. in Germany, and entered his chapel. He shows acquaintance with philosophy and theology, with jurisprudence and grammar; but his chief study was rhetoric. He had written a compendium of this science, entitled "De materia artis," which has been lost, and it was as an exemplification of the rules laid down in this work that the "Rhetorimachia" was intended to serve. This book was dedicated to the Emperor Henry, and composed between 1046 and 1056.[1] It is an imaginary rhetorical confutation in three books; the author pretends that he is attacked in a pamphlet by his cousin Rotilandus, and shows all the rhetorical errors that occur in this imaginary treatise, defends himself and the clergy of Milan, and hurls back at his accuser the charges of immorality. Thus he finds an opportunity of showing his dialectical skill; he makes use of subtle argumentations and sophisms, and adopts a style of diction which is heavy, twisted, and frequently obscure, but correct, and which often passes over into rhythm and rhyme. His learning is drawn principally from the Rhetoric "ad Herennium," and from Cicero's "De Inventione." The book is filled with a strong consciousness of the author's own worth, with deep confidence in the power and dignity of the art with which he feels himself imbued, and with a proud enthusiasm for learning. Characteristic is the very idea of making himself the object of the apologetic work, and of thus

[1] E. Dümmler, "Anselm der Peripatetiker nebst anderen Beiträgen zur Literaturgeschischte Italiens im 11. Jahrhundert." Halle, 1872.

gaining an opportunity for immoderate self-praise. At the very outset of this scientific movement its representatives are filled with a high opinion of their own worth, together with a keen desire for fame and applause. This is nothing but the easily conceivable pride of men who have been the first, after a long period of intellectual darkness, to amass laboriously a treasure of knowledge, and who, in the general ignorance, look on the rest as far beneath themselves; and so it became the natural feeling at the time of the Renaissance, as it appeared later on in such pronounced form among the humanists. How grandiloquent are the words with which the monk Alberic bids us pay attention to his treatise on rhetoric, which now appears to us such a slight thing, and which in those days was such a great performance: "May the new nectar flow nowhere in vain; touched by Phœbus's ray, may the spirit let flowers blossom forth. Here Alberic soars aloft, here he hopes for the palm; here may his adversary be silent and dumb, wonder, and be confounded." Anselm the Peripatician boasts that the whole of Italy is resounding with his name; that France and Germany rejoice at his approach.[1] On his journey to the Emperor's court he presented his work in the towns with a commendatory letter of his master Drogo, amidst triumphs and applause. In a vision which he describes at the beginning of the second book, he lets the saints of Paradise and the three muses of Dialectic, Rhetoric, and Grammar struggle for the possession of him. He is in the Elysian fields, in the company of the blessed, but the muses endeavour to induce him to return to earth: for he is their only shield, their only support among men, and when he shall be no more, none will rise again to equal him in these arts. Having wakened from his dream, he considers which he would have preferred, had he had the choice—the company of the muses or that of the blessed: he decides that he would have liked best to enjoy them both simultaneously: but, in the meantime, as eternal bliss on earth is impossible, he selects the muses. So we have here also a trait which puts us in mind of the later Renaissance: the knowledge of the Pagans is already brought

[1] It is true that Anselm himself tries to make out in the letter to Drogo (p. 21) that these boasts are merely a joke; but nobody will believe this.

into comparison with the Paradise of the Christians, and no decision is come to.

Yet another characteristic peculiarity that recurs among the later humanists, is found already in the literary life of those days, namely the pleasure taken in polemic, the jealousy among the writers, who wrangle round the little knowledge they have just acquired, and struggle for precedence. In a letter to Drogo, Anselm replies in detail to his detractors and to those who are jealous of him, of whom some said that he was not capable of composing such a work, and that he had been helped in it, while others declared it to be superfluous, and others again suspected him of heresy and of having intercourse with demons, because he sought solitude during his studies. We find similar complaints concerning jealousy and emnity in Alberic also, and later on in Petrus Diaconus, and they are constantly repeated by the compilers of epistolary guides. And these latter then attack Alberic, too, although he is the real founder of their art, reproaching him with superfluous accessories, or maintaining that they adhere more closely to the classical models than he does.

Medieval Latin poetry was also for the greater part an exercise in grammar and rhetoric, an imitation of the authors that had been read, a repetition of formulas that had been learnt by heart; and it is only rarely that any original inspiration can be found. Of this the religious lyrical poetry shows most traces, as in the poets of Monte Cassino that have been mentioned, or in the hymns of Damian. To Northern Italy belongs a love poem in one hundred and fifty leonine distichs, doubtless composed by a priest, since it is entered on some empty pages of a Latin Psalter, and probably written about the year 1075, as Henry IV.'s defeat at the hands of the Saxons is alluded to:

> Cum secus ora vadi placeat mihi ludere Padi,
> Fors et velle dedit, flumine Nimpha redit.[1]

The poet converses with a girl on the banks of the Po: he extols her beauty, and promises her, in an endless enumeration, all the comforts, valuables and enjoyments she can wish for, as also the immortality that the old poets conferred

[1] Dümmler, "Anselm," p. 94 ff.

on heroes and women, if she will only love him. Here everything is full of exaggerations; the author's imagination conjures up visions of untold wealth, which he lays at the feet of the loved one, and raises him above poets and gods, while he has still to struggle laboriously with the form.

To the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries belong a number of more lengthy Latin poems on historical themes, dealing with contemporary subjects, poems in praise of princes and communes, and narratives of their military achievements. The most perfect work of this kind, distinguished by the simplicity and clearness of the narrative and by the excellence of the hexameters, is the "Gesta Roberti Wiscardi"[1] of Guilelmus Appulus; but it is probable that just this man was not an Italian but a Frenchman, and that the surname of Appulus referred only to the place at which he subsequently lived.[2] Far less polished is the "Vita Mathildis" of the monk Donizo of Canossa, a panegyric on the Countess of Tuscany, written during her lifetime, at the end of 1114,[3] a vapid chronicle, lacking all art and ornament, written in rough verses and a careless style, with a special predilection for the affected use of Greek words. Equally defective is the form of an anonymous poem on the subjugation of Como by the Milanese (1118-1127), written by an inhabitant of the former city.[4] The barbarisms, the bad grammatical mistakes and the great lack of clearness, which renders constant explanation necessary, testify to the low state of the writer's culture: still, there are touches of patriotic warmth here and there, especially towards the end of the poem, where the author bewails the misfortunes of his native town. The song in praise of Bergamo, composed between 1112 and 1129 in dull rhymed hexameters, by a certain Magister Moses[5] (a grammarian, therefore), is of some interest owing to the fabulous account, that occurs at the end, of the origin of the city—one of those legends that all the more important of the Italian cities invented concerning their foundation.

[1] "Mon. Germ. Script.", ix. 241.
[2] Cf. Amari, "Storia dei Musulmani," iii. 22.
[3] "Mon. Germ. Script.," xii. 348.
[4] "De Bello Mediolanensium adversus Comenses" Muratori, "Rer. It. Script.," v. 413.
[5] "De Laudibus Bergomi," Muratori, *ib.*, 529.

According to this narrative, Brennus the Gaul was said to have fortified Bergamo as the the chief citadel of his power. But when the Romans had driven out this "Gallic pest," the senate, in order to insure security for the future, set up a presidency in the town, at the head of which was one of the Fabii, one of that glorious race which fell for their country at the Cremera, to the number of three hundred; and then the grammarian goes on to sing the praises of this noble Fabius, the first protector of his city, and extols him above Æneas, Cato and Cicero. These new communes, not satisfied with the protection of their patron saints, desired to derive their nobility from the name of some famous Roman, Greek, or Trojan.

Two poems dealing with events of Pisan history contain more numerous classical elements than the works hitherto mentioned. In these the powerful and flourishing condition of the republic invited comparison, to a special degree, with ancient times. One of the two poems celebrates the victorious expedition of the Pisans to Africa in the year 1087, in the popular measure of rhythmical and rhymed long verses with a sharp cæsura, which were derived from the catalectic trochaic tetrameter, and which we already found in the song on the Emperor Louis II.[1] Several exaggerations which garnish the narrative, in the main historically correct, tend to show that the author wrote some time after the events described. The expedition is represented as a crusade against the infidels, and brings about the liberation of a hundred thousand Christian prisoners; Christ protects and leads the pious warriors, performs miracles for them, sends an angel to their aid, and causes the lions that have been let loose on them to turn against the Saracens themselves. But at the same time the poet thinks of the war of Rome against Carthage, a war which Pisa had now taken up again with no less glory to herself. He begins his work with the words:

> Inclytorum Pisanorum scripturus historiam,
> Antiquorum Romanorum renovo memoriam;
> Nam extendit modo Pisa laudem admirabilem,
> Quam olim recepit Roma vincendo Carthaginem.

[1] Du Méril, "Poés. pop. du moyen-âge." Paris, 1847, p. 239. Cf. also Amari, l. c., p. 171.

Immediately afterwards God's miracle on behalf of Gideon is cited by way of comparison, and, farther on, those Romans who took part in the expedition as allies of Pisa are said to revive the memory of Scipio. Ugo Visconti, the noble youth who falls in battle, is compared first with Codrus, and immediately afterwards with Christ, because he sacrificed himself for the good of the people, as they had done. This ingenuous and artless mingling of things classical and Christian, of Biblical images with those taken from the history and fable of Pagan antiquity, which we already had occasion to remark in the poets of the Gothic period, such as Ennodius, is characteristic of the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages in general.[1]

We find the same thing again in the long poem, in seven books, on the conquest of the Balearic Isles, written by a certain Laurentius Vernensis, that is, probably, of Vern in Tuscany, who was deacon of the Archbishop Peter II. of Pisa, and himself present at the battles in company with the archbishop, as appears from several passages of the narrative. He begins his work in the style of the ancient epic poems, by announcing the argument:

> Arma, rates, populum, vindictam cœlitus actam
> Scribimus, ac duros terræ pelagique labores,
> Geryonea viros sese per rura terentes,
> Maurorum stragem, spoliata subactaque regna.

In describing the sea-voyage to the Balearic Isles, comparisons with the Trojan war continually suggest themselves to him. The relatives that remain behind lament the departure of the ships, as did formerly the Achæan women when the heroes left for Pergamum. In Sardinia the Pisans are received by King Constantine in the same way as the Danai at Aulis, and when the fearful tempest is depicted, against which the vessels have to struggle, the poet says that even the son of Laertes would have been terrified at it. In other passages we find comparisons with Cæsar, with the Sabines robbed of their wives and lamenting, and the like. Everywhere in this narrative, which, though monotonous and

[1] Cf. Pannenborg, in "Forschungen zur dtschen. Gesch.," xi. 225; and Kuno Francke, "Zur Geschichte der lat. Schulpoesie des 12. und 13. Jahrh.", p. 37. München, 1879.

clumsy, is animated by religious enthusiasm in its descriptions of battles, we detect the poet's effort to employ the machinery of the ancient epic poems. He gives lists of troops in the manner of Homer's and Virgil's catalogues, and makes his personages deliver long, artificial speeches. He uses the names of the Roman deities, Phœbus and Titan, for the sun, and calls God *Tonans* or *Astripotens rector*. Objects are designated by the same names as in classical poetry: the wounded standard-bearer of the Pisans is healed with Pæonian herbs, and the shield is called *septemplex tergum* or *septena terga*. And scattered among these, we find again the names of Christ and of the saints, the captivity of the Christians among the Mussulmans is compared with that of the Jews in Egypt, and so on. The simple fact is that the author did not put a heathen construction on the classical images and designations; they were empty forms, mere poetical ornaments, which could be employed for every object, and which appeared indispensable in poetry, because the models for all poetry, the works of the ancients, contained them. Especially remarkable in this respect is the close of the sixth book. Here is related how the souls of the slain Saracens descend to hell, and this (the Christian) hell is peopled with the personages of the classical lower world. In it Cerberus converses with Pluto, Æacus and Rhadamanthus call on the king of the shades to receive the new arrivals worthily with his punishments, and the tortures conceived by the Christian imagination. such as heat and cold, food of vipers and toads, and poisonous potions, are joined to those invented by the classics, such as the unquenched thirst of Tantalus. This transference of figures of the Pagan Tartarus to demons of the Christian hell became general; we find it adopted also in later visions of the other world, and finally, in the most splendid manner and with a deeper meaning, in Dante's "Commedia."

In the eleventh century theological and philosophical studies, till then neglected, came into great favour among the Italians, who, for a short period, even surpassed the other nations that had hitherto been in advance of them in these branches. The great movement in the Church which was due to Hildebrand, the fierce struggles for and against his innovations that raged round the investitures and the

supremacy of the spiritual power, finally the freshly kindled disputes with the Greek Church concerning the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, impelled men to study closely the questions of faith and the institutions of the Church and its history, thus producing learned theological writings, such as those of Alberic, of Monte Cassino, of S. Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, of S. Bruno, Bishop of Segni, of the Archbishop Grossolanus of Milan, and of the Archbishop Peter of Amalfi.

The man who by his sermons and writings gave the most effectual support to Hildebrand in his work of reform was S. Peter Damian, born at Ravenna in the year 1006 or 1007. First teacher of the liberal arts and of jurisprudence at Parma, then recluse in the hermitage of Fonte Avellana, near Gubbio, he was, in 1057, raised to the dignity of cardinal by Pope Stephen IX., against his will and after strenuous opposition, and was employed by him and his successors in the most difficult missions for putting an end to the disorders and for settling the disputes of the Church, till his death, which occurred at Faenza in 1072. Peter Damian is the most zealous representative of the new ascetic tendency which had emanated from the Abbey of Cluny, after a period of secularisation, and had been introduced into Italy especially by S. Romualdus. The goal it strove to attain was the conversion of erring humanity, but chiefly the purification of the profaned Church. S. Damian is a preacher of penance, a pitiless accuser and judge of vice, which he depicted in terrible colours. The ideas of medieval asceticism find in him their gloomiest expression. He believes the appearance of the Antichrist and the Day of the Last Judgment to be not far distant, and recognises this through the growing depravity of mankind. "As in a tempest," he says with powerful imagery, "the high sea is more calm and less dangerous, but along the coast the breakers dash up, so human corruption, now that the end of this world is drawing up near, is boiling up more wildly against its banks and making the waves of lust and pride tower on high ("Epist." i. 15). In his sermons enjoining penance, in his letters and treatises he struggles unceasingly against the same enemies that Pope Gregory wished to root out, namely simony and the marriage and illicit intercourse of the priesthood. The

negligent he endeavours to terrify through tales of sinners who died suddenly and terribly, without having time for repentance, or by accounts of visions of the other world and of apparitions of the dead, which he repeats with devout faith. The remedy against moral corruption is, in his eyes, the mortification of the flesh; he defends and praises physical penance, such as fasting, keeping silence, genuflexions, and above all, flagellation, in praise of which he composed a special treatise, and the practice of which he endeavoured to spread among the monasteries. The hermit's life, which is entirely made up of these exercises, prayer and pious contemplation, he takes to be the highest state of perfection for mankind, the state in which the soul, freed from all earthly impurity, becomes again more like its original image—God.

Damian is familiar with the secular learning of his time, quotes the classical poets, historians and philosophers, and employs the dialectics of the schools in his polemical writings. However, this is, in his eyes, strictly subservient to a higher knowledge, and he wrote the famous words that philosophy should be the handmaiden of theology: "Human science," he says, "when it is employed in treating sacred subjects, must not presume to play the part of the teacher, but must serve its mistress readily like a handmaiden, so as not to go astray by wishing to be in advance" ("De Divina Omnipotentia," cap. 5). Worldly knowledge is, in his eyes, only a means to the end, a preparation for the better understanding of things eternal, and, when comparing divine and secular wisdom, he sets small value on the latter, at times even despises it, and inveighs against those who cultivate it for its own sake, blaming those monks who "slighting the precepts of Benedict, rather occupy themselves with those of Donatus" ("De Perfectione Monachorum," cap. 11). In this respect, therefore, Damian is opposed to the classical studies of the time, which he allows to be only limited in value, though he takes part in them in no small degree. His true learning is in the dogmas, the Fathers of the Church, and the Holy Scripture. Here he has few equals. He shows great skill in that allegorical and mystical interpretation of passages of the Bible, practised since Ambrosius, which connects them with moral doctrines or with the destiny of the

human soul; of this his sermons and letters are full. Damian adopted this tropological or spiritual interpretation not alone for the Bible, but also for the fabulous medieval natural history of animals, devoting to this subject a special treatise, dedicated to the monks of Monte Cassino ("De bono religiosi status ex variorum animantium tropologia"), which is accordingly nothing more or less than one of the older allegorised bestiaries. For the theologian, nature transforms herself into a teacher of morals; in Damian's eyes, God gave each animal its powers and properties merely with a view to enabling mankind, by dint of contemplating and interpreting them, to derive precepts for the salvation of their own souls.

What Damian has to say on the relations between the spiritual and temporal power is important; he is the first to formulate more precisely the idea that they are mutually independent of each other, and that the two spheres of authority are to be kept apart. "One cannot do without the other; the priesthood is protected by the power of the State, and the State is supported by the sanctity of the sacerdotal office. The King is girded with the sword, so that he may oppose in arms the enemies of the Church; the priest devotes himself to prayer, so as to make God propitious to the King and to the people. The former must weigh earthly matters in the scales of justice, the latter offer the water of God's word to those that thirst." These words he wrote to the young Emperor, Henry IV., at the same time exhorting him to put aside the anti-Pope Honorius ("Epist.," vii. 3). Here Damian does not hold quite the same views as Hildebrand; he was not endowed with that rigid consistency and inflexibility, which he admired in his great friend, when he compared him with the north wind, and called him a "holy Satan." He himself is more inclined to invoke the aid of the Empire in the settlement of ecclesiastical disputes, and the precedence which he certainly wishes to secure for the Pope, is only that of respect. But it must be remembered that he did not live to see the most violent phase of the struggle, and considered possible the close union of the two powers, which were together to guide the human race, each in its own way. Just as the offices of priest and king were united in Christ, so, too, it is to happen, through the bond

of mutual love, with the exalted persons of the spiritual and temporal ruler, "that the King is to be contained in the Pope, as the Pope in the King, but without prejudice to the prerogatives of the Pope. . . . He, as the father, is always to maintain the precedence, according to paternal right, and the King, as the only son, is to rest in the embraces of his love" ("Disceptatio Synodalis," conclusion). This independence and union of Church and Empire remained the ever unattainable ideal of the Middle Ages.

Damian's ecstatic religiousness sought to express itself also in poetic form; in his hymns he adopts with ease and skill the ancient metres, but more frequently he employs rhythmical measures, and in those cases approaches the popular tone also by the simple way in which he expresses his feelings. Some of these songs are of real poetical beauty, especially the hymn "De Gloria Paradisi," which depicts the joys of the blessed in sonorous verses, and with rich and warm colours, such as the popular imagination derives from the choicest things on earth.

Two other Italians of this period, whose names belong to the most celebrated in medieval science, Lanfranc and S. Anselm of Canterbury, spent all the later part of their lives in a foreign country, and it was not till they resided away from Italy that they began to occupy themselves with and to write on theology and philosophy. Lanfranc was born in Pavia about the year 1005, of noble family, studied the liberal arts and law in Bologna, acquired an unusually wide knowledge in these branches, and then crossed the Alps, in order to show his skill as lawyer and dialectician among other nations. He came to Avranches in Normandy, where a misfortune occurred to him that induced him to change his career. One day, on the road from Avranches to Rouen, he was robbed by highwaymen, and bound to a tree; in this desperate position, with death before his eyes, he vowed to devote his life to God. Having been liberated on the following morning by travellers, he entered the monastery of Le Bec, where he underwent the severest privations and castigations (1042). But he was recognised as the great scholar; he opened a school (1046), which soon became famous, and to which those eager for knowledge repaired in large numbers from all parts, so that the

abbey, which had hitherto been poor, acquired wealth and importance. He then became its prior. His great fame as a theologian he won through his polemic against Berengar of Tours, in the dispute concerning transubstantiation. William of Normandy made him Abbot of St. Etienne, in Caen, and then, after the Conquest of England, Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus he became, next to the king, the most powerful and influential person in the country. He died in the year 1089.

The importance of Lanfranc lies less in his writings, than in his teaching in the school of Bec, which produced the greatest scholars of the age. To these pupils of his belonged Anselm, whose life took almost exactly the same course as that of his teacher and friend. A native of Aosta, he also came to Avranches, became a monk at Le Bec at the age of twenty-seven, succeeded Lanfranc as prior, became abbot of the monastery (1079), and in 1093 was appointed to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. In the dispute that arose around the investitures, Anselm fought obstinately for the independence of the Church, first against William II., then against Henry I.; twice he was forced to abandon his see, and lived for several years in France, also visiting his native country, Italy. In 1106 his reconciliation with King Henry took place, and three years after his return Anselm died (April 21, 1109). The great purity of his morals, his ardent zeal for the good of the Church, his disinterestedness and the paternal kindness and severity with which he presided first over the monastery and then over the diocese, brought him in his lifetime the fame of sanctity, which increased after his death. Tales were spread of miracles which he was said to have performed. His canonisation, however, did not take place till centuries later.

S. Anselm left numerous theological and philosophical works; with him, as was generally the case among medieval thinkers, philosophy is closely bound up with faith, nay, even springs from it. From Anselm came the famous *credo ut intelligam*: "I do not endeavour to understand in order to believe, but I believe in order to understand; for I believe also this, that when I shall not believe, I shall also not understand" ("Proslogion," end of cap. i.). But if we possess faith the saint thinks, then we should also, sup-

ported by it, endeavour to attain knowledge: "Just as the true order of things requires that we should believe the mysteries of the Christian religion, before we can examine them with our reason, so it appears to me to be negligence on our part, if we do not, after being strengthened in our faith, endeavour to understand that which we believe." All the argumentations of this philosophy, therefore, tend towards demonstrating the truth of the dogmas. Reason imagines it is free, and is bound all the while. It imagines that it will find in its own paths the same truths that faith teaches, and sees a wonderful confirmation in this agreement; but from the very beginning it has its goal in sight, and laboriously endeavours to reach it by winding paths, by leaps and violent methods, and the proof becomes subtle sophistry. In the contradictions which spring from the articles of faith, unity, and trinity, creation from nothingness, predestination and the freedom of the will, and the like, reason twists about in all directions, and finally escapes through a play upon words, through a paralogism, or confesses that this is the limit of knowledge, and that what appears to be inconsistent is really true, and this in spite of the fact that truth was always sought by eliminating the inconsistencies. In his "Monologium" Anselm apparently reconstructs the most difficult portions of the dogma, according to purely critical reasons and a strictly philosophical method; but in reality he bases his arguments on the double meaning of words, such as *verbum*, *filius*, *spiritus*, and the like. But in his enthusiasm for knowledge and understanding, he deceives himself, and his firm faith hides from him the defects of his logic. Also the ontological proof for the existence of God, based on the idea of Him as the most perfect Being, which Anselm evolved and published in his "Proslogion," and which was found again by Descartes five and a half centuries later, is only a paralogism, by means of which faith obtains what it desires, and with which it is therefore satisfied. Still, we have here an advance, in comparison, for example, with Damian, the recognition of certain claims of reason, a wider use of it in scientific research, though, after all, only as a secondary support of faith. This was the philosophy of the Middle Ages, the beginning of the tendency which was called Scholasticism,

save that this latter introduced a more regular and pedantic method, adopting the Aristotelian doctrines that had in the meantime become better known. Anselm's theological metaphysics contain rather Platonic elements, which had been transmitted to him by Augustine, Dionysius, Areopagita, and Boethius.

The philosophico-theological movement which had been begun by scholars hailing from Italy, had its continuation in France, and not in Italy, where these sciences lost ground again for a time. Several Italians of the succeeding period who devoted themselves to them, taught away from their own country, as Lanfranc and Anselm had already done. Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), who rendered service to the progress of studies by his translations from the Arabic of Avicenna, and of Ptolemy's "Astronomy," acquired his learning in Toledo, and lived and wrote in that city. The famous Peter Lombard, the author of the theological "Summa," which was generally used in the Middle Ages, and which he called "Liber Sententiarum," probably came from the neighbourhood of Novara, but soon went to France to finish his studies, became professor in Paris, then Bishop of the same city (1159), where he also died in 1160. In France, and chiefly in Paris, theology and scholastic and mystical philosophy flourished in the twelfth century, while in Italy it was not till the thirteenth century that a brilliant revival awaited them through the labours of S. Thomas and S. Bonaventura. In the twelfth century, however, the sense for what is real and positive, peculiar to the Italians, again predominated among them; men eagerly devoted themselves to the studies of medicine and law, which stand in direct relation to practical life, and it was at this period that the schools of Salerno and Bologna, where these sciences were taught, obtained their great renown throughout the whole of Europe. And at the same time the influence of the laity also began, and the transition of learning from the clergy to this body, which introduces the new period of intellectual life.

But with jurisprudence the study of rhetoric and grammar was again combined. This was, however, carried on in a one-sided manner, for the practical needs of the senate and of the lawyer's office. And so it appeared to men of other

countries that the Italians lacked all real interest in science. In the "Bataille des Sept Arts" of the Norman poet Henri d'Andeli, the *Lombart* (as the Italians were generally called in France) appear as such representatives of rhetoric, who practise it only for gain, without any real love for it. Grammar and rhetoric were at that time essentially intended to afford instruction in epistolary and documentary style, and a large number of letter writers and books of formulas appeared, called "Artes Dictandi" or "Summæ Dictaminum," containing rules for composition and form, and collections of examples. The works of Alberic, of Monte Cassino, who had given this art its new basis with his theory of the five divisions of the letter, were followed by those of men like Albert of Samaria, who wrote between the years 1111 and 1119, Aginulf, Albert of Asti, and by several anonymous "Artes dictandi" in Lombardy. The Canon Hugo of Bologna, whose "Rationes Dictandi Prosaice" were finished after 1124, was a pupil of Alberic. Guido Faba, chaplain of S. Michael's in Bologna, wrote (*c.* 1229) his "Doctrina ad Inveniendas, Incipiendas et Formandas Materias," which is specially interesting from the fact that it contains for the first time examples in the vulgar tongue. The greatest fame as grammarian at the beginning of the thirteenth century was enjoyed by Magister Boncompagno, from the neighbourhood of Florence, who taught at the University of Bologna. He entitled his principal work "Boncompagnus" after himself; it was, as he informs us, read before the professors of this university on March 25th, 1215, and crowned, as also later by the university of Padua, and was published in the year 1226 (on March 31st). In 1235 Boncompagno was still in Bologna; later he went to the court of Rome, there to make his fortune, but was disappointed in his hopes, and became so poor that he died in a hospital at Florence. Boncompagno was an original character, a great scoffer, after the manner of the Florentines generally, as the chronicler Salimbene says, who tells several anecdotes and jests about him. He, too, was to a high degree filled with that exaggerated opinion of his merits which we found in Anselm the Peripatetic. In the dialogue between the author and his book at the beginning of the "Boncompagnus," he speaks of himself and of the importance of the science taught by him, and enumerates

the rest of his works, one of which he designates as the "Empress of the liberal arts." In his boastings he extols himself above Cicero, who is not by any means a perfect model in his eyes; he wishes to be original in his rhetoric, and, in the work called "Palma," he even maintains that he cannot remember ever to have read Tully, which is a distinct untruth, as he controverts him in another place, and blames him for unpractical rules and unclear expressions. He has also many complaints to make against malevolent enemies and envious persons; but he treats them with great haughtiness. At the close of the "Boncompagnus," he begs the reader to wish the author peace, "whom numerous scorpions tried to wound with their poisonous tails, and behind whose back very many dogs barked; but, in front of his face, the lips of all the envious were dumb." To several of his books he gave high-sounding names: "Cedrus," "Mirra," "Palma," "Oliva," "Rota Veneris," "Notulæ Aureæ," "Liber Decem Tabularum." Reading these titles, we expect quite different matter to rules and examples for epistolary style. Still, it cannot be denied that the author had a vivacious intellect, and that he understood and took an interest in actual events, and in this way his mode of treatment compares favourably with the usual dryness of works of this kind. At times, by way of illustration, he narrates experiences, anecdotical traits of himself and others, and gives valuable information concerning the customs of his time, as in the paragraph in the "Boncompagnus," longer than usual, concerning the use of funeral laments in Italy and elsewhere, or in the account of the coarse jokes which Guido Guerra, Count Palatine of Tuscany, permitted himself to perpetrate on some *jongleurs* that came to him.

Another result of the great historical events, and especially of the development of the free municipal constitutions, was the long series of chronicles, beginning with the close of the eleventh century. In the South the history of the Norman dynasty was told by Gaufredus Malaterra, by Alexander, Abbot of Telese, and by Romualdus, Archbishop of Salerno; while in the North, the older and younger Landulf described the events that had taken place in their native city of Milan, and Sire Raoul and Otto Morena of Lodi the wars with Barbarossa. Soon every town of some importance, as its

power increased, desired the record of its deeds and fortunes to be preserved for the remembrance of posterity. The most splendid work of this kind is the "Annales Genuenses,"[1] begun in the year 1100 by Cafaro, a man who himself played an important part in the public life of his town, and who was several times one of the governing body. After he had had his work read to the consuls, it was at their command deposited among the archives of the Republic. After his death (1166) the consuls, one after the other, had the chronicle continued, so that it comes down to the year 1293, and thus comprises the history of almost two centuries written by eye-witnesses, this being the first instance of an historical work commissioned by the state, and composed under its direction.

An attempt to pass over from the simple, unpretentious style of the chronicle, which only gives a list of facts, to the real art of writing history, we note for the first time, in two shorter works by Florentines, belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century, in the "Gesta Florentinorum"[2] of Sanzanome, and in the "De Obsidione Anconæ Liber"[3] of the master Boncompagno, whom we already know. The model they try to imitate is, of course, again classical art. The knowledge of grammar and of rhetoric, which they had acquired in the schools, is made use of in the writing of history. Sanzanome lets his personages make well-constructed and pompous speeches; thus, for example, in the war against Fiesole, a noble Florentine speaks before the assembled council and the consuls, reminding them of their great ancestors, of the duties their Roman descent imposed on them, and among the people of Fiesole, a lawyer rises, and recalls to them the glorious descent of Italus, to whom the whole of Italy is indebted for her name, the great antiquity of the city, the brave Catiline, and the like. In these fictitious speeches, the historical facts supply the material for practice in style, in the same way that it was usual in the schools to compose letters and speeches on political themes, and to put them in the mouths of Emperors and Popes.

[1] "Mon. Germ. Script.," xviii.

[2] O. Hartwig, "Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Gesch. der Stadt Florenz," i. (Marburg, 1875.)

[3] Muratori, "Script.," vi. 925 ff.

However, this effort to adopt a literary form which does not grow out of the matter treated, but is only applied to it outwardly, is detrimental to the subject proper of the history, which cannot always be made to fit in with these forms, and thus the narrative becomes a meagre, incomplete, and abstract summary. To begin with, Boncompagno selected a theme which was closely circumscribed, and which furnished an exceptional opportunity for the introduction of rhetorical ornament, namely, the heroic defence of the people of Ancona, when they were besieged in 1174 by Archbishop Christian of Mayence, the chancellor of Frederick I. An old man of Ancona, the Greek legate, Guglielmo Marcheselli of Ferrara, and the Countess of Brettinoro, make long speeches, garnished with images and maxims, in order to fire the courage of the citizens. The old man begins with the words: "I call on you, ye men of Ancona, who have your origin in the noble stock of the Romans;" and farther on he quotes a passage from Terence. But, together with the classical quotations, Biblical subject-matter is also introduced, according to the taste of the time. Remarkable in this work of Boncompagno is a passage in which the name of Italy is, perhaps, for the first time in a medieval historian, connected with some idea of national patriotism. After the author has related how the Venetians supported the chancellor, and how so many other Italians in the imperial army fought against the oppressed city, he laments this pernicious division, on account of the impression it would make on foreigners, and adds: "Nam opinio in hanc me trahit sententiam ut non credam Italiam posse fieri tributariam alicui nisi Italicorum malitia procederet ac livore; in Legibus enim habetur: 'Non est Provincia, sed Domina Provinciarum.'" In Italy the national idea was roused through the study of antiquity, and was at first merely an abstract conception, without reality, since a municipal constitution alone was reigning supreme. And so, as Dante said, referring to the same phrase that was quoted by Boncompagno, the country remained for so many centuries—

Non donna die provincie, ma bordello.

Latin poetry, which had, at the beginning of the twelfth century, produced those historical works of which the form

was unpolished, but the contents not uninteresting, was but scantily cultivated in Italy in later ages. The verse chronicle was continued by Geoffrey of Viterbo, who, in his Universal History, written about the year 1190, entitled "Pantheon," introduced among the prose sections numerous passages composed in a metre invented by himself (strophes of three hexameters, of which only the second and third rhyme).[1] In this same form is composed also the longer poem, "Gesta Frederici," a dry enumeration of events in a prosaic style. Geoffrey, by the way, was almost more of a German than an Italian, lived constantly at the court of the Emperor, and appears not to have returned to his native city of Viterbo till he had grown old. A certain Master Peter of Eboli celebrated in distichs the subjugation of the kingdom of Sicily by Henry VI. It is a bombastic panegyric, which calls the Emperor not only Cæsar and Augustus, but also Jupiter, and Tonans, or Sol, nay, even compares him with Christ, and extols his cruelties as acts of justice. At the close the author, in a servile manner, petitions for a gift, at the same time presenting his book to the Emperor; this reward he appears to have obtained in the shape of a mill at Eboli. He wrote between 1194 and 1196, shows no slight acquaintance with the classics, and mastery of language and metre, but often becomes clumsy and obscure in his efforts to be sublime and distinguished.[2]

More worthy of attention is a didactic poem which enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages, was read in the grammar schools, and later translated into Italian, the "Elegia de Diversitate Fortunæ et Philosophiæ Consolatione" of Henricus Pauper, or Henricus Septimellensis, as he is called, after his birthplace, Settimello, near Florence. The author fell from a state of happiness into poverty and misery, and seeks consolation in the wisdom which he had formerly imbibed in Bologna. In the poem he bewails his unhappy fate and the inconstancy of the Goddess of Fortune; she appears to him, and he disputes with her without coming to a reconciliation. Thereupon Philosophy appears, accompanied by the seven Liberal Arts, and reproaches him for his faint-

[1] "Mon. Germ. Script.," xxii.

[2] "Des Magisters Petrus de Ebulo Liber ad honorem Augusti," herausgegeben von Ed. Winkelmann. Leipzig, 1874.

heartedness. The situation is the same as in the famous book of Boethius; from him the author took the idea of his poem, but he proceeds independently in the working out of the details. Remarkable is the lightness of the Christian colouring with which Henricus's ethics are tinged. There is only a cursory exhortation to trust in the goodness of God (iv. 55); for the rest, the consolation of philosophy consists, not in the hope of reward after death, but in pointing to the necessary inconstancy of fortune, to the fame and honour that follow in the wake of steadfastness, and to the dangers to which men in exalted positions are exposed. The real remedies against pain and despair are given in the last book, and take the form of a long series of trivial maxims, rules for the conduct of life, and directions for virtuous behaviour. And so philosophy, which in Boethius, as the true teacher of wisdom, treats the highest metaphysical questions, has here become a somewhat vulgar moral preacher. The poet draws the examples for his teachings for the most part from antiquity, now and again from the Bible and the tales of chivalry; but some of them are taken from his own time, and, since mention is here made of Henry VI.'s first unsuccessful expedition to Sicily, to the murder of Conrad of Montferrat, and to the capture of Richard Cœur de Lion, as of events that had recently occurred, we see that the poem was composed about the year 1192. Especially when the author speaks of the increasing wickedness of the world, he effectively touches the affairs of his own time in words that come from his heart, complains of the corruption of the Papal See, the venality of the law, the general oblivion of God, and regards as the punishment for all this the universal misery, the famine, the victory of the Saracens in the Holy Land, and the struggle between the spiritual and temporal power, which strive in turn to usurp each other's rights (iii. 244 *seq.*). These invectives do not lack poetical power. In several other passages, as in the laments at the beginning of the book, it becomes apparent that the author is, much to the advantage of the narrative, relating his own experiences.

In other countries the twelfth century was a flourishing period for Latin poetry, and especially in France, where this was altogether an age that has rarely been equalled for the

deep interest taken in science and literature. There it was that a man like Hildebert of Tours wrote his poetry, who in some of his pieces, as in the two beautiful elegies on the ruins of Rome, gives proof of an inspiration and a purity of form that are almost classical. There, too, wrote such men as Guilelmus Armoricus, the author of the "Philippeïs," and Gautier of Châtillon, whose "Alexandreïs" almost supplanted Virgil in the schools. England possessed men like Joseph of Exeter, Germany the "Ligurinus" of Gunther. Poems so perfect in their way were not produced in Italy at that period. But classical studies had altogether made such brilliant progress in France, that the Italians could scarcely compete with them. Just as medicine was studied in Salerno, law in Bologna, and theology in Paris, so Orleans was famous as the true seat for the study of the classical authors, and attracted students from all parts. The *Ars dictandi* was also cultivated there, and it is worthy of note that the bitter Master Boncompagno, in the passage where he inveighs against the instruction given in Bologna, and calls it *superstitiosam Aurelianensium doctrinam*, boastingly says of himself that he intended to take his pupils back "to the style of the Holy Fathers, of the Roman see, and of the imperial court," and does not mention the classics as models. Also the most distinguished grammatical theorists of that time were not Italians, but an Englishman, Gaufridus de Vinosalvo, a Belgian, Eberard of Béthune, and a Frenchman, Alexander of Villedieu. The reason why the Italians had again been surpassed by the others in the study of these sciences must apparently be sought for in their tastes, which were practical before all things, and which had caused them to direct their attention to a limited field.

But if the classical culture of the Middle Ages attained a higher stage of development in France, it was, on the other hand, more widely diffused among the people of Italy, where it had penetrated more deeply than in other countries into the life and thought of the nation. The German chronicler, Otto of Freisingen, who accompanied Barbarossa on his first expedition, found this diffusion of education and culture in Northern Italy, this approach to the Roman civilisation, worthy of remark ("De Reb. Gest. Frid.," ii. 12). The patriotic feelings that the thoughts of antiquity could not

fail to arouse among the Italians, caused this people to be in closer contact with classical times than other nations. These were national recollections with which they occupied themselves, recollections of the power and greatness of their own country, which came to them from the monuments and literary works; the Italian national idea itself arose in the first place from the study of antiquity. The revived culture, the forms of the political constitution which resembled those of antiquity, were regarded as direct links with the brilliant periods of Rome, and whatever had occurred in the meantime was considered merely as a transitory diversion and degeneration, as an eclipse of the old condition of things, which they should strive to restore in its perfection. And in this way there gradually sprang up among the Italians the opinion, which has not yet entirely died out, that the invasion of the German tribes, from which, after all, the new state of affairs took its origin, had done nothing but interrupt a regular course of development, and that this new condition of things was a reaction against the invasion. Men wished to become Romans again, and hated the barbarians, now in their turn overcome, for having put an end to the noble Roman sway, as though they had cut short a flourishing epoch of culture; whereas they had in reality given the *coup de grâce* to a diseased civilisation, and, by this very means, made possible a new period of development.

In this way the spirit of classical antiquity, though it might for a time stand out more conspicuously elsewhere, was always most deeply rooted among the Italians, to whom it expressed their own past. In France and in the other countries, this medieval Renaissance was not of long duration: it was exhausted in the first decades of the thirteenth century, and the interest in grammar and poetry gave way to the zeal for scholastic dialectics and metaphysics, which filled men's minds. In Italy, on the other hand, the classical influence is continually on the increase, and at last, in the fourteenth century, brings about the Renaissance of modern times.

Of a really living Latin literature medieval Italy possessed very little. The works which were produced in those ages are monuments of the spirit of the times and of the degree of culture then prevailing; literary value they do not, as a

rule, possess. The Latin poetry of the Middle Ages is essentially a poetry of the schools, a repetition of formulas and commonplaces, a product of erudition, not an independent creation. And Italy, as we have seen, did not even produce works so perfect in point of form as other countries. It is true that there existed a branch of Latin poetry which possessed more vitality, and which approached the popular manner in language and rhythmical form. On the one hand we have the religious lyrical poetry, those hymns that were inspired by deep feeling, harmonious in sound and effective in their simple expression, such as some among those of Damian; and, on the other hand, in direct contrast, the songs of the wandering students, with their boisterous love of life, their fresh feeling for Nature and their keen satire against the Church. But in the production of just this poetry of the Vagantes or Goliards, the Italians had no share at all, or, at any rate, a most insignificant one. The reason for this probably is that, as Giesebrecht well remarked, the poetry of the Vagantes is related to the poetry composed in the vulgar tongue. In France, Germany, and England it is contemporaneous with the latter, influenced by it, and perhaps even entirely due to it. In Italy, therefore, where the vulgar poetry began later, it is not till the thirteenth century that we find a fair number of rhythmical poems which at least recall those of the Goliards. Such are Master Boncampagno's poem in derision of Frate Giovanni of Vicenza, a portion of which is quoted by Salimbene (p. 38); the song in praise of wine ("Vinum dulce gloriosum") by the grammarian Morandus of Padua; the satire, attributed to Pier della Vigna, directed against the Dominicans and Franciscans, who wish to have a share in politics, and thus sow discord between Pope and Emperor ("Vehementi nimium commotus dolore"); and others of the same kind.

A living literature needs a spoken tongue for its proper expression. Now, Latin was, it is true, frequently used, in the churches, in public documents, and in legal transactions: here it was corrupted and impregnated with the vulgar tongue, and it was just in this transformed and defiled state that it may be said to have had a certain amount of life, as is shown in the rhythmical compositions or in the prose of a writer like Fra Salimbene, though also in this case not before

the vulgar tongue began to be set down in writing. And an irregular, individual treatment of the Latin could not result in a permanent literary idiom. On the other hand, a temporary revival, at least, was possible at a period of the greatest enthusiasm for the classical age, when this age began to live again in men's minds, and when its language was spoken almost as the natural tongue. But these times of the Renaissance were still far distant, and they would probably never have come at all, if they had not been preceded by a long period of literature in the vulgar tongue.

This new Romance language, which had developed from the Latin in the mouths of the people, had already existed for a long time. From the seventh century onwards, words, and especially names of persons and places, become in the Latin documents more and more frequent in the vulgar form. In the ninth century the poem on the Emperor Lewis's capture, among other pieces, proves clearly enough, with its corrupt Latin, the existence of Italian. In the year 960 a short sentence in the vulgar tongue is found for the first time in a document of Monte Cassino. Almost entirely in the vernacular are a Sardinian document and a formula of confession from Central Italy, both of the eleventh century, while we have further Sardinian documents as well as some Italian inscriptions belonging to the twelfth century. But the literary use of this new idiom, in other words, Italian literature, does not begin till later, while the Provençal and Old French literatures go back to the tenth and eleventh centuries and had already attained their highest perfection in the twelfth. On the other hand, all efforts to discover Italian literary monuments going back beyond the beginning of the thirteenth century have hitherto been futile, and all the supposed discoveries of this kind have proved to be illusions. For either it was merely a question of forgery, or the assumed date turned out to be erroneous. The former was the case with the so-called "Carte d'Arborea," which made such a sensation and which gave rise to a fierce controversy: their apocryphal character is, however, now universally admitted, save for the few cases in which their champions' eyes are closed by false patriotism or personal vanity. These manuscripts, which are called after the supposed place of their origin, Oristano, the ancient seat of the *regoli* of

Arborea in Sardinia, were first made known in 1845 and the following years by the Minorite Cosimo Monca and were, for the greater part, sold to the library of Cagliari. There were altogether forty-four codices and pages, containing poetry and prose in vulgar Latin, classical Latin, Sardinian and Tuscan. The very quantity of this material could not fail to arouse suspicion. The forgers had not considered that such an extensive literary activity, which was supposed, according to them, to have fallen in the twelfth century, must have left some traces on succeeding ages, and that it was difficult to understand how Dante, who has written about the beginnings of Italian poetry, should have been entirely unaware of its existence. Besides, the poems themselves are either completely modern in character, or testify to an antiquity which betrays itself as artificial owing to the fact that the imitated models are often misunderstood, while the historical portion of the manuscripts is full of anachronisms and absurd statements.

Genuine, but not so old as was long thought, is a poem in the Apulian dialect, contained in an eleventh century manuscript in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and accordingly known as the "Ritmo Cassinese." In the portion preserved it is difficult to understand; in many passages, indeed, it is still entirely enigmatical, and apparently written intentionally in a mysterious style by the author, who was evidently a monk. For the benefit of the listeners a conversation is reported between a man from the East and another from the West, which is probably intended as a panegyric on the discipline of S. Benedict. All this, however, is of smaller interest to us now, seeing that the poem has lost its venerable claim as the earliest monument of the language. A conjecture, put forward by D'Ancona in 1870, to the effect that the leaf in question of the codex was not written on in the eleventh century like the rest, but at a later date, has been proved, through the researches of Giorgi and Navone, to be perfectly correct, and there is nothing to prevent our assigning the poem to the thirteenth century.

In the collections of the oldest lyrical poets, there is a canzone by a certain Messer Folcacchieri of Siena, in which Father De Angelis, and others after him, thought they had discovered an allusion to the period following the Peace of

Venice (1177). But these utterances concerning the peaceful state of the whole world are of a very general nature, and might just as well refer to a different time; as a matter of fact, Curzio Mazzi recently proved that the poet lived about the year 1250. Of other poems to which formerly too early a date was assigned, the "Rosa fresca aulentissima" and the "Intelligenzia," it is needless to speak in this place, as they will have to be treated more fully later on. To prove that poetry was composed in Italy as early as the twelfth century a passage of the Dante commentator Jacopo della Lana (referring to "Par." xx. 61) has often been quoted; it has, together with so many others, passed over from his commentary into others. In a laudatory description of the court of King William the Good at Palermo, Jacopo also mentions the excellent poets and singers who had assembled there. However, he does not say that the singers at this Norman court were Italians, and not Frenchmen perchance or Provençals, and even if he had said so, it would surely be a strange proceeding to set the authority of a Dante commentator over that of Dante himself, who knows nothing of these poets in his book "De Eloquentia Vulgari."

It is, indeed, quite correct to say that the poetry of a nation does not begin suddenly, or with the date at which the first monuments appear. The people are sure to have sung earlier than this, and in Italy, too, popular songs may have already existed. But a distinction must be drawn between these and a continuous literary development, and, after all, the history of literature can only occupy itself with real documents, and not with vague conjectures concerning things which may have existed previously, and of which no account has come down to us.

If, therefore, the Romance language that had long been spoken was not put to literary uses till so late a period, this must be accounted for by the powerful spirit of classicism which had, in this country, begun to dominate every walk of life, and whose influence determined the course of Italian literature from the very outset. Here Latin was more powerful, as set against the idiom that had sprung from it, than elsewhere, and it took longer for the latter to venture into publicity. Just as people felt themselves to be the descendants of the old Romans, so, too, the language of

Rome was regarded as the true Italian language, and the other, which was spoken, as a mere corruption of it, was held to be suitable for intercourse and for every-day use, but not for the expression of the higher intellectual ideas. This was a prejudice which lasted for a long time, which Dante attacked energetically, though he was not entirely free from it himself, which was revived in an aggravated form after him, and which did not altogether disappear till the sixteenth century. Italian, just because it approached nearest to Latin, and had grown up on the same soil on which this tongue had flourished, was later than the other Romance idioms in awakening to consciousness as an independent language and as a medium for literary expression.

II

THE SICILIAN SCHOOL OF POETRY

IN this way, Italy was still without a literature at a time when its western neighbour had already produced two, the Provençal and Old French, each of them well developed. These literatures, which were held in high esteem throughout Europe, could not fail to exercise an exceptionally wide influence in a country which was itself comparatively unproductive. The poems of the troubadours inspired the first attempts at lyrical poetry, while the French *chansons de geste* and romances supplied the subject-matter for narrative poetry, no suitable themes having sprung up on Italian soil. The influence of the troubadours made itself felt earlier than that of the French poems.

The political and commercial relations that had, for ages, existed between Northern Italy and the South of France, paved the way for an intellectual intercourse between the two countries. The Provençal troubadours, who loved a roving life, and who went from court to court, appearing wherever they could gain fame for their songs, gifts from the princes and the favour of their mistresses, came to Italy from the end of the twelfth century, perhaps even earlier. Peire Vidal was one of the most restless among them, living now in Provence, now in Spain, now in Hungary, and now in the East. In 1189 he appears to have been for a short time in Genoa, after which he lived with the Margrave Boniface II. in Monferrato and in other parts of Northern Italy, where he sang the praises of a fair Lombard lady (1194); in 1205 he was on the island of Malta with Count Henry, perhaps after taking part in the crusade to Constantinople. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras came, in the last decade of the twelfth century, to the court of the Margrave Boniface who was delighted with his art, dubbed him

knight, and made him his brother-in-arms. Raimbaut paid homage to the prince's sister, Beatrix (the wife of Henry of Carret), whom he celebrated in his poems under the pseudonym of *Bels Cavaliers*, and if we may believe an anecdote recorded in the old Provençal biography of the poet, this love affair ripened into an intimacy of the closest nature. In 1194 Raimbaut accompanied the Margrave, together with Henry VI., on his expedition to Sicily, rescuing him from great peril at Messina. In 1202 he followed him in the Crusade, and appears to have fallen at his side; the old biography at least testifies to his having died in Greece. Later on, especially when the terrible wars of the Albigenses devastated the South of France and put a sudden end to the flourishing culture of those parts, the troubadours sought refuge in Italy with increasing frequency; the best known among those who went in the first half of the thirteenth century were Aimeric de Pegulhan, Gaucelm Faidit, and Uc de S. Circ. Italian princes and Italian ladies were in those times often extolled in Provençal songs, among the latter especially Beatrix d'Este, the daughter of Azzo VI., and Emilia di Ravenna, the wife of Pietro Traversari.

The courts which the troubadours frequented most were those of Northern Italy, especially those of the Margraves of Monferrato and of the Estes in Ferrara. But they also went farther south. Thus, for example, Uc de S. Circ was in Pisa, and Guillem de la Tor in Florence; Peire Vidal stayed in Malta, and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras fought in Sicily, as we have seen. At the court of the Emperor Frederick II. these poets are sure not to have been strangers. This was, as Dante says, the meeting-place of all the most distinguished men from far and near. The "Cento Novelle Antiche" tell of Frederick's liberality and courtesy, and the panegyrics showered on him by the Provençal poets prove that he must have been very gracious to them. Aimeric de Pegulhan sang his praises, when still young, in the canzone "En aquel temps," under the image of the good physician of Salerno, who heals the ills of the time, and restores the courtly virtues, after they had been lost sight of on the death of the former noble patrons. It is true that we have no definite testimony concerning individual poets who lived

with him; but the old Provençal biographies are altogether very meagre, and from their silence it is impossible to draw any conclusions. As Fauriel rightly remarked, Frederick II. also had political reasons for favouring several of these troubadours, who were indignant at the wars of the Albigenses, and made violent attacks on the Holy See. The passionate invectives of poets like Guillem Figueira could not fail to stir up the people more effectually than the most skilful Latin pamphlet, and might be used by the Emperor as a weapon in his struggle against the Popes.

The troubadours who came to Italy were wont to take an active part in the political affairs of the country, which were, after all, intimately connected with those of their native land. They took sides in the struggles between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, or between the jealous communes, and not a few of their poems have reference to Italian affairs. Peire Vidal extols the people of Pisa and inveighs against the Genoese who had been humbled by them. He exhorts the citizens of Milan and Pavia to be good friends, and warns the Lombards in general to be on their guard against the German robbers, so that their lot may not be that of the conquered Apulians (1194: "Bon' aventura don deus als Pizas"). Peire de la Cavarana encouraged the Lombards to resist the Emperor Henry in his spirited *serventese*, "D'un serventes faire" (1195), which was much influenced by the song of the poet of Toulouse. Peire Guillem de Luzerna urged the Emperor Frederick to proceed with greater energy against the haughty city of Milan ("En aquest gai sonet leugier"). Uc de S. Circ, in a poem addressed to Count Guido Guerra and other Italian Guelphs, gives vent to his hatred of the heretical Frederick, warns those that side with him of the ruin that threatens them, and calls on France and the Church to form an alliance, and to direct the crusade towards Italy, with a view to conquering the kingdom: "For he who does not believe in God, shall not rule" (*circa* 1148: "Un sirventes vuelh far"). The poem of an unknown author, which has been wrongly ascribed to Peire Vidal, who had been long dead at that time, is a song of victory over the Florentines conquered at Monte Aperti (1260), and celebrates King Manfred, whose horsemen had carried the day ("Quor qu'om trobes Florentis orgulhos").

It will be seen that these roving minstrels did not remain strangers in the country of their wanderings. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras even employed the Italian language in two of his poems. He wrote a so-called *Descort*, a poem in which each stanza is composed in a different idiom, and the second of these, as well as a portion of the refrain, are in Italian. He is also the author of a jocose dialogue, in which his declarations of love are treated with contempt by a Genoese lady; she is made to speak in the dialect of her native town, which is well suited to the nature of her replies. These verses by a Provençal are the oldest, or nearly the oldest, in the Italian language that have as yet come to light, for they must have been written before the year 1202, in which Raimbaut left Italy never to return.

The troubadours remained in Italy till the end of the thirteenth century, at which time Provençal lyrical poetry, generally, lost all importance. The great impression these poems made, and the general applause with which they were received, induced native poets to imitate them, and in Northern Italy those who attempted to reproduce the art of the Provençals, also employed for this purpose the Provençal tongue. This language was well known owing to the manifold relations existing with the South of France, and it was easily learnt, because the dialects spoken in those parts resembled it fairly closely. Besides, it was more natural to adopt the language of the models together with the poetical tradition, than to raise the native dialects, which were still in an uncultivated state, to the dignity of a literary idiom. The oldest of these Italians composing Provençal poetry that are known to us are the Margraves Manfred II., Lancia and Albert Malaspina, of whom the former was engaged in a *tenzone* with Peire Vidal, the latter with Raimbaut de Vaqueiras. Of Manfred nothing has come down to us except the two stanzas of this *tenzone* that belong to him, of Albert nothing but the *tenzone* and a love dialogue, "Dona, a vos me comen." The first writer of whom a larger number of poems is extant, is the Bolognese Rambertino Buvallello, who was in 1201 Podestà of Brescia, and afterwards occupied the same office in other towns of Northern Italy (1208 in Milan, 1213 in Parma, 1218-20 in Genoa); he probably composed his poetry between the years

1209 and 1212. All the others are much more recent. Among them there is an especially large number of Genoese, namely, Lanfranco Cigala, who, among other pieces, composed a *serventese* against Bonifacio III. of Monferrato, Simone Doria, Perceval Doria, Jacopo Grillo, Luchetto Gattilufio, who wrote a *serventese* belonging to the year 1262 and who was still alive in 1300, and Bonifacio Calvi. A certain Nicoletto of Turin was, in 1238, engaged in a *tenzone* with Joan d'Albusso. In Ferrara, where the troubadours were welcome guests at the court of the Este, Master Ferrari, in the second half of the century, compiled a collection of stanzas selected from their poems; of his own works, only one *cobla* has been preserved. The Venetian Bartolommeo Zorzi, who was prisoner of the Genoese from 1266 till 1273, in a canzone defended his native town, with fervent patriotism, against the attacks that had been made on it by Bonifacio Calvi in one of his poems; he also bewailed the deaths of Corradino and of Saint Louis in two beautiful songs of lamentation. The most famous of the Italian troubadours is Sordello of Mantua, who was praised by Dante in his book "De Eloq. Vulg.," and idealised in the "Purgatorio" as the type of noble, patriotic pride. His restless life, which brought him into close contact now with persons of the most exalted rank, and now with the vulgarity, the quarrels, and the petty jealousies of mercenary minstrels, appears to have little in common with the imposing figure created by Dante, and the same remark applies to the majority of his poems. An exception is, however, formed by the *serventese* on the death of his patron Blacatz, composed in the year 1237: this is filled with the same spirit as the famous invective against the negligent princes which he is made made to utter in the seventh canto of the "Purgatorio," and possibly accounts for Dante's sympathy with the poet. After the death of the noble Blacatz, he can see no way to make good the loss unless the princes eat of the dead man's heart, so as to acquire the courage and nobility they lack; and his enumeration of those in need of this food, develops into a bold and keen satire against the most powerful rulers of his time. In his later years, Sordello was in the service of Charles of Anjou, and probably accompanied him on his expedition to Naples. In 1266 he was prisoner in

Naples, but according to the old biography he died in Provence.

The works of all these poets are contained in the old collections of the troubadour poetry, where they form a portion of Provençal rather than of Italian literature; the Provençal in which they are composed can scarcely be distinguished from that of the other troubadours. In Southern Italy, on the other hand, at the court of Frederick II., such skill in the use of the foreign tongue could only be acquired with difficulty, and poetry written in it could not have been expected to be generally understood: and so the native *volgare* was adopted. That is probably the reason, why Italian artificial poetry began in Sicily. In Northern Italy, the poets wrote in Provençal; in Central Italy there were no brilliant courts, and the lyrics that were being imitated were court poetry. But the Provençal poetry of the Italians in the North must not be regarded as a transition to that of the South composed in Italian, as has been done; if we except the few verses of the Margraves Lancia and Malaspina, they are both contemporary, and the poems of Zorzi partly belong to a period in which the court poetry of the South had already died out.

In Sicily the good results of the former Arabian rule were still apparent in the prosperous and civilised condition of the island, and Frederick II. did his utmost to preserve this state of things in his kingdom. His new code of laws (the Constitutions of Melfi), while increasing the absolute power of the sovereign, restricted the rights of the restless feudal nobility, and insured order and justice, which was strictly administered. He took the liveliest interest in scientific studies, and, by his brilliant example, gave such an impetus to the general desire for culture as was scarcely equalled by any person during the Middle Ages. He founded the University of Naples (1224), collected in his library many Arabian and Greek manuscripts, and had them translated into Latin. He sent translations of writings of Aristotle that were as yet unknown in the West, and of other philosophers, to the professors at Bologna, so that they might interpret them in their lectures and make them generally known, together with the philosophical works of antiquity that had previously been in use; and it is beautiful to see, in

the letter accompanying these manuscripts, how Frederick regarded the promotion of scientific studies as one of the duties of a ruler, by the side of his other tasks ("Epistolæ Petri de Vineis," iii. 67).

Rhetoric flourished at the court of the Emperor. His ministers and officials, especially Pier della Vigna, the most eminent among them, were masters in the art of the epistolary and diplomatic style which was at that time cultivated with so much zeal. This is shown by a collection of documents, especially those of Frederick II., which goes by the name of the "Letters of Pier della Vigna," while it is in other manuscripts more suitably entitled "Summa Magistri Petri de Vineis," or "Summa Dictaminum," since it is one of the collections of letters then in vogue which were intended as models of style. Here we note, in contrast to the simplicity to be found in Boncompagno and others, a manifest desire to imitate the fulness and the majesty of the Latin period; but the necessary skill had not been attained, and a diction resulted, that was ponderous, twisted, obscure, and frequently barbarous, with long, involved sentences. They thought they had attained the highest standard of perfection, and were proud of it. In the correspondence of Pier della Vigna with the Archbishop of Capua and the notary Nicolaus de Rocca we have veritable rhetorical contests, the sole purpose of which was to demonstrate the skill of the writer in his use of the pen, each one outvying the other in the employment of exaggerated compliments. During the struggle with the Pope, the style of Frederick's diplomatic documents, which were mostly drawn up by Pier della Vigna, and of the reports of his subordinates relating to public affairs, assumes a special character by reason of the constant note of exaggeration, and of the frequent use of Biblical phrases and images. These notaries always adopted the sanctimonious phraseology common to sermons, and, indeed, the Emperor always desired to have the Word of God on his side, and, as the true defender of the faith in its purity and sanctity, he opposed the corruption of the Church.

Among the followers of the imperial party this style might, in that age of a newly-awakened religious enthusiasm, have been the result of sincere conviction. But this was not the case with Frederick himself. His attitude towards the

religious movement of his time was always regulated by political considerations; he favoured the desire for reform because it threatened the power of the Pope, and had the heretics burnt, because he saw that their alliances were a danger to the order of the State. The Papal party accused him himself of being a heretic and atheist, attributed to him the declaration concerning the three deceivers, and reproached him with denying the immortality of the soul; Dante, in spite of the admiration and respect he felt for Frederick, shared this latter belief concerning him, and placed him in Hell. His enemies may have exaggerated, but everything points to the fact that he was endowed with great freedom of opinions. Though he was himself a sceptic, he pretended to be strictly orthodox, persecuted heresy, that is to say, all sincere doubt, and required his subjects to observe the outward forms of religion; so that he may be said to have initiated in Italy that religious hypocrisy and indolent observance of forms and ceremonials which became general among the cultured at the time of the Renaissance. Towards the Mussulmans the feelings of the emperor were tolerant, even friendly. A division of the Saracen mercenaries of Lucera accompanied the crusading army to the Holy Land. Frederick stood in friendly relations with the Sultan of Egypt; he sent him mathematical problems, in order to procure from him their solution. To Eastern and Western scholars he directed certain metaphysical and theological questions, clearly proving to us that he was a sceptic. These questions were answered by Ibn-Sab'în at the request of the Caliph Rashid at Ceuta.[1] It may, therefore, be doubted whether his subsequent wish to undertake a great crusade, and his laments at the loss of the Holy Sepulchre, were quite genuine, and whether he was not rather, in this way, playing a trump card against the Pope, who prevented the execution of his pious plans.

In this powerful personality, which made so great an impression on the age, we see at all points a great similarity to Eastern potentates, in his love of science, in his absolute rule, in his unscrupulousness when pursuing his political aims, in the blend of magnanimity and cruelty, in the heart-

[1] Amari, l. c., p. 702.

lessness, with which he caused the ruin of his most faithful servants, such as Pier della Vigna, as soon as he became suspicious, and, finally, in his sensuality. Amari justly called him and King Roger "i due sultani battezzati di Sicilia" (iii. 365). To the Christians of the West his court appeared to be a court of Mussulmans, at which the luxury and loose morals of the East prevailed. Frederick delighted in Saracen pantomimists and female dancers, kept a harem at Lucera, and employed eunuchs by whom he had his last two wives jealously guarded. Under his predecessors, Arabian poetry was still composed at this court; but in the earliest Italian poetry it is impossible to find any traces of Arabian influence, which could no longer maintain itself against the popularity of the Provençal love poetry.

To the poets of the Italian school belong the Emperor Frederick II. himself, his son Enzo, King of Sardinia, and Pier della Vigna, of Capua. The latter was, after the year 1232, very prominent in public affairs, filling the highest offices of the State in 1247—as Pronotary of the Imperial Court and Logotheta of the Kingdom of Sicily. He died a tragic death in 1249, after falling into sudden disgrace. Of the majority of the others who, according to the old collections, were authors of poems, we know nothing beyond the name, or, at most, also the place of their birth. This is the case with Mazzeo Ricco of Messina, Rugieri Apugliese, Ranieri of Palermo, Rugerone of Palermo, Rinaldo d'Aquino and others. Jacopo of Lentini is always called Notary, and he was himself always fond of giving himself in his poems the title of Notary of Lentini, thus indicating their authorship. Istefano of Messina, is called now "Protonotaro," now "Istefano di Pronto Notaro." Rugieri d'Amici is, perhaps, identical with the Rogerius de Amicis, who was, between the years 1240 and 1242, employed by Frederick II. in important offices of State, and as ambassador to Saracen princes. Guido delle Colonne, of Messina, is called "giudice," and a certain "judex" Guido de Columna is the author of an "Historia Trojana" that was much read in the Middle Ages, being a redaction in Latin prose of Benoît de Ste. More's "Roman de Troie," in the style of historical narrative. According to a note at the end of this work, the first book was written in 1272, and the whole concluded in 1287. If its author be

really identical with the poet, the latter must have attained a great age, and composed his poems in his earlier years.

The poetical output of this Sicilian school, primarily an imitation of foreign models that narrowed its scope, could not fail to lack all the freshness and originality which mostly form the principal elements of the beginnings of a national literature. The subject-matter of the Provençal poetry is transferred to another language, without undergoing any change in the process beyond sacrificing much of its richness. The new tongue exercised no invigorating influence. It was in reality nothing but a new dress in which the old subject was clothed, and this innovation could not possibly increase the æsthetic value of the poetry; on the contrary, the still more unwieldy idiom caused it to lose much of the grace and elegance it had originally possessed. The theme of the troubadour poetry, chivalrous love, now reappears in the same forms that had previously served for its expression. Love is a humble and suppliant veneration for the lady; it always presents itself under the images of feudalism, serving and obeying—the relation of the vassal to the liege lord. The lady stands high above the lover, who bows before her, beseeching her for grace; he is unworthy to serve her, but noble love levels all inequalities. The lady is cruel and lets him languish in vain, so that his sufferings bring him near to death. But he may not cease to love her, for from love comes all worth and all excellence; he must endure, for faithful service will bring him his reward, and should he suffer and die, this will be to his fame and honour, as it is for the sake of the noblest of ladies. This circle of ideas in which the Provençal love poetry moved, had in Provençal literature itself given rise already to much that was conventional and monotonous. But in Provence it was at home; here this conception of love had developed, having its origin in an actual though artificial condition of things existing among the upper classes. On that account the earlier poetic efforts, at any rate, do not lack warmth of sentiment, and the absence of variety in the subject-matter is often atoned for by the tenderness and delicacy of the treatment. But when Provençal poetry was to bear new fruit in Italy, it had already passed the period of its full splendour, and was rapidly approaching decline. And the ideas and sentiments

imported from a foreign country only remotely resembled those current in Italy. There chivalry, in its ideal signification, had never properly taken root. Splendid feasts were given and tournaments were held; people pretended to be in love, after the fashion of the troubadours, and composed songs in their manner; but all that was merely superficial imitation of foreign usages. In the kingdom of Sicily there was a powerful and warlike feudal nobility; but these nobles were kept down by Frederick II., who endeavoured to put an end to feudalism, lawyers of civilian descent, like Pier della Vigna and Taddeo of Sessa taking precedence of them at court. As for the homage paid to ladies, this could not fail to become a mere fiction at a court where oriental customs still prevailed, where the emperor kept a harem and had his wives guarded by eunuchs, while he celebrated the fair ones in languishing tones.

Thus it is that the oldest Italian lyrical poetry gives us nothing but pale conventionality, both as regards subject-matter and expression. *Madonna*, the loved one, is always the same image of abstract perfection, without life or movement. Her charms and virtues are depicted only in the most general terms. She is the flower of women, the mirror of beauty, like the sweet-smelling rose and the morning star; her splendour surpasses that of pearls and jewels, every excellent quality is hers, and from her emanates every virtue that the poet may venture to attribute to himself. Love is also an abstraction, a personification which the poet addresses, and to which he complains of his sufferings. The relations between the lovers are colourless and without warmth, nearly always the same but for slight modifications: Madonna is cold and inexorable, the lover stoops and bends down, sighs and hopes, declares his eternal fidelity or prays for some mitigation of his tortures. Thus, for example, the Emperor Frederick sang:

Valimento mi date, donna fina
Che lo mio core adesso a voi s' inchina.
S' eo' nchino, ragion n' aggio
Di sì amoroso bene
Che spero e vo sperando,
Che ancora credo avere
Allegro mio coraggio
E tutta la mia spene

Ch' ò data in voi amando
Ed in vostro piacere;
E veggio li sembianti
Di voi, chiarita spera,
Ch' aspetto gioia intera,
Ed ò fidanza che lo meo servere
Aggia a piacere a voi che siete fiore
Sor l' altre donne e avete più valore.[1]

Where, in this eulogy, is there anything of Frederick's individuality? The personality of the poet disappears, and it becomes almost a matter of indifference what name stands at the head of the songs. The life of the authors was often chequered and stormy, and full of poetry; but nothing of this passed over into their verses, because they wrote after a type common to them all, which had no connection with their individual sentiments.

In the poems of the South that have come down to us, direct plagiarism of Provençal poetry is very rare, and even the imitation, general as it was, did not take place without strong modifications. Far more frequently we come across ideas that are well known to us from Provençal lyrics, but which do not necessarily go back to a definite original. They are commonplaces which everyone had in mind and employed at need; as, for example, when both the troubadours and Sicilians so often declare that they prefer serving their mistress without any reward to receiving the greatest favours from another; or that they would not be princes or rulers of the world if that entailed the loss of their lady. The oldest Italian lyrical poetry is full of these commonplaces; it is possible that they may not all come from Provence, and that the Italians may have added to the stock of conventional ideas. But on the whole, as might be expected from imitators, their range of thought has become smaller, as they did not, by any means, adopt all the elements

[1] Excellence thou givest me, noble mistress, so that my heart ever bows down to thee. If I bow down, I am right in doing it, owing to the possession so rich in love for which I hope and go on hoping; for I still think to have my heart joyful, and all my hope, that I, loving, have set on thee and on thy charms; and I behold thy features, shining sun, and expect my fill of joy, and I have confidence that my service may be pleasing to thee, that art the flower of all other women, and more excellent than they.

of the vast repertory. Thus their monotony is more pronounced than that of the troubadours.

And just as there was a common supply of ideas, so, too, they had the same stock of images and comparisons, which can no longer serve their real purpose of making the things represented more vivid, but have become mere external ornaments, convenient instruments for filling up the stanzas that were so lacking in feeling. Love is, of course, compared a hundred times with fire, and the lover is purified in love like gold in the furnace. The ship on the stormy sea, or the restlessness of the waves themselves, are employed as images to express the excitement of passion. Serving and obeying, the poet will be as faithful as the assassin who goes blindly to his death at the command of the Old Man of the Mountain. The kiss which the lover has received from his mistress resembles the lance of Peleus, the wounds caused by which did not heal till it had again touched the injured part; Bernart de Ventadorn had said this, and the Italians repeated it. To these are added other comparisons, which are derived from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages or from the narratives of the French romances of chivalry, such as the comparisons with Narcissus, with Paris and Helen, with Pyramus and Thisbe, and, most frequently, with Tristan and Isolde. But the most popular and the most characteristic of the taste of age, are the images of animals drawn from the fabulous histories dealing with the habits and properties of animals that were contained in the bestiaries, so widely read owing to the miraculous nature of their accounts. These childish zoologies of the Middle Ages used to give allegorical, moral, and religious interpretations of the descriptions, as we saw in the case of S. Damian, and lyrical poetry transferred these to the domain of love. The lover lives in the fire without being burnt, like the salamander. The lady slays the lover with her look, like the basilisk, or, even as the basilisk dies on beholding itself in a mirror, so, too, the lover at the sight of his lady. The poet, brought to the point of death by his love torments, sings like the swan before expiring. As the tigress, who has been robbed of her young, forgets her grief on seeing herself in the mirror that the huntsman has placed in her way, so, too, the lover in the presence of his mistress. As the sweet-

smelling breath of the panther entices the other animals, in the same way he is enticed by her charm. As the phœnix who dies in the flames and then rises up again, so he, too, would wish to pass away and then to reappear in a fresh form, as he might then perhaps be more pleasing to his mistress.

This predilection for conventional ornamentation is not found to the same degree in all the poems, some of them being altogether free from it, while in others, again, it is very marked. Among the Provençal troubadours, Richart de Barbezien especially delighted in employing such similes in large numbers, and as he was well known in Italy, it is possible that his poems caused this manner to be generally adopted. At times, it is true, the lyrical poets of the Sicilian school show the desire to employ fresh and newly invented images, a striking example being a canzone of Guido delle Colonne, "Ancor che l'aigua per lo foco lasse." This attempt was, however, a complete failure. The poet aims at artistic effects by forcing very prosaic and far-fetched objects into his comparison. Just as water, he says, is only warmed by fire without being, at the same time, consumed by it, because the sides of the vessel intervene, in the same way he himself, who had previously resembled cold water and iron, was warmed by Amore, and would have been consumed but for the intervention of Madonna—where, after all, the pot is the image for the lady celebrated. In another stanza the poet says that, just as the magnet can attract iron only by dint of employing air, so, too, Amore has observed that he has need of Madonna, in order to attract the lover to himself.

The principal metrical form of the earliest Italian lyrical poetry, and also of that of later times was the canzone, that is to say, a poem consisting of several stanzas constructed in the same way, and frequently of a shorter final stanza—the refrain (called *comiato*, *congedo*, *licenza*, *chiusa*, or *ritornello*). The canzone was the form of lyrical love poetry in Provence and in Northern France, but this does not necessarily imply that the Italians adopted it from those parts, since this form always resulted as a matter of course, where a text was to be sung to a melody that had to be repeated several times. In points of detail they differ in various ways from the outset.

The Italian verse was always the same as it is now: it was based on the principle of the numbering of the syllables, like all Romance verses, and differed from the Provençal and French system by the collision of the vowels in hiatus, by the unimportance of the cæsura, the almost unbroken rule of a feminine ending, that accorded with the character of the language, and by the mingling of open and closed vowels in the rhyme. The earliest lyrical poets employed a large variety of verses. From lines of three to lines of eleven syllables there were none that were not used at least in some isolated cases; but even at that time the verse of eleven syllables (*endecasillabo*) and that of seven syllables (*settenario*) prevailed over the rest, after which the one of five syllables occurs most frequently. Later on, Petrarca employed only the two former, and his example was followed by all succeeding generations of poets. The stanza of the Italian canzone is generally very much more extensive and complicated than was the case in Provence, and on that account it was nearly always divided up into partitions. The most popular was the division into three; namely, into two equal portions, which Dante called *pedes*, and one that differed from them, to which he gave the name of *syrma*. The division into four parts, with *pedes* and *versus*, is also very frequent. With the troubadours the rule that was by far the most generally followed was the one according to which the same rhymes were carried through all the stanzas (*coblas unissonans*). Italian is not so rich in words with a similar ending as Provençal, and therefore generally adopts the method of introducing fresh rhymes into each stanza (*coblas singulars*), although there is also a fair number of examples in which the rhymes are carried through the entire poem.

The sonnet goes back to the three-part stanza of the canzone, and was, indeed, originally, nothing but a single stanza of this kind, of the class which the Provençals employed, under the name of *coblas esparsas*, chiefly for the purpose of expressing moral lessons; only in Italy the type of the canzone died out, and thus the separate stanzas came to form an independent metrical class. The Tuscans were the first to give the sonnet its great importance. Among the Sicilians it was rare. Pier della Vigna, King Enzo and Mazzeo Ricco, have been credited with one sonnet each, and

Jacopo da Lentini with a larger number, but it is doubtful whether these pieces have all been correctly assigned to their real authors. But the Sicilians possessed another form of lyrical poetry which disappeared later on from Italian literature, namely the *discordo*, that corresponded to the Provençal *descort*, or, perhaps rather to the class called *lais*: for the Italian poems of this kind, in common with the *lais*, not alone consisted of unequal stanzas, but were really not portioned out according to any system at all, it being possible to distinguish only very long and irregular divisions. The verses, often very short and ending in several consecutive rhymes, are arranged in an arbitrary fashion. It is possible that, in these poems, as in the Breton *lais*, the music was the principal feature, the words playing an entirely subsidiary part; this would also account for the obscurity of, or entire absence of meaning in many passages, such as the following in a *discordo* of Jacopo da Lentini:

Sì mi sdura
Scura
Figura
Di quant 'eo ne veio
Gli occhi avere
E vedere
E volere
E loro non disio.

As the poetry began in Sicily, it might have been expected that the earliest attempts were made in the Sicilian or, at any rate, in a South Italian dialect. But these poems, in the shape in which they have come down to us, are written in the same idiom as the oldest Tuscan poems, that is to say, in an idiom which, although it contains unmistakable elements of Southern dialects, cannot, in the main, be distinguished from that which later became the general language of Italy. As the latter was based on the Tuscan, or, to be more exact, on the Florentine dialect, it is curious to find it employed at a time when Central Italy had not produced any poetry in the vulgar tongue. Consequently Italian scholars of eminence have lately set up the theory, that the poems of the Sicilians have not been handed down in their original form, that the poets composed them in their own dialect, and that their present form is due to Tuscan copyists.

But there are several objections to this assumption. To begin with, non-Sicilian forms are found in these poems not only in the body of the verse, but also in the rhyme, so that it is impossible to attempt to translate them back into the original dialect. Further, Dante in his book "De Vulgari Eloquentia," praised a certain Guido delle Colonne and others, for having departed from the language of the people, and attained a purer and loftier diction. It is true, it has been said that Dante, too, may have been deceived, and that he did not know the poems either, save in their transcribed form. But it should be remembered that, when Dante wrote, the Sicilian poetry had not been extinct for more than forty years, that he must have known natives of the Southern provinces and been able to learn from them the true state of the case.

It appears, then, that at the court of the Emperor Frederick, there existed, distinct from the popular idiom, a literary language which was perhaps not so very different from that in use at the present day. It is certainly difficult to say how this tongue was formed. But the origins of literary languages, in general, have not yet been fully explained, and it is too early in the day to maintain that they were, at the beginning, always identical with a popular dialect, seeing that special, additional influences have always to be reckoned with. As soon as a dialect is employed for literary purposes it assumes a different character, and aims at an ideal of regularity that was foreign to the carelessly spoken dialect. This can be plainly observed in the case of the dialect writers of the present day, who always, though they may not know it, introduce elements of the general language into the idiom written by them. The earliest poets had no such general language to work with, it is true; but, instead of this, the ideal they strove to attain was supplied by Latin and by the idiom of their models—Provençal, whose influence was so strong that not unfrequently entire words were taken over. And finally, the poets at Frederick's court were not Sicilians only, but came from other parts as well, especially from Apulia, among the latter being Pier della Vigna of Capua, Rinaldo d'Aquino, and Giacomo Pugliese; nor did the Emperor reside exclusively in Palermo, but also in Naples and elsewhere in the peninsula. The necessary result of

this triple influence of Latin, of Provençal, and of the Apulian dialect was, that the literary language departed from the phonetic conditions of Sicilian and approached more closely those prevailing in Tuscany. It is impossible at the present day to define more exactly the composition of the language of the court poets; for something, we do not know how much, of the form of the poems as it has come down to us, must certainly be put down to the Tuscan scribes.

The real importance of the Sicilian court poets, whose productions have so little intrinsic value, lies in the fact that they laid the foundations of metrical form for lyrical poetry, and that they were the first to employ the vulgar tongue. These achievements, which were acknowledged even by Dante, proud as he was of the higher standard of perfection to which he himself and his school had attained, are by no means insignificant. They represent, at all events, the beginnings of art and of a literary tradition. From this time, Italian began to be the recognised organ of the art poetry; the form was already national, and nothing remained but that the themes clothed by it should be national too. It is true, that the Provençal style of poetry could only be a passing fashion, and that the further development of the literature required a fresh spirit, so that those forms might be infused with new life and vigour. The elements of an inspiration of this kind, that was independent and not of foreign origin, had obviously always existed, having perhaps previously found expression in popular songs. But in view of the wide-spread reputation of the conventional court poetry, a new spirit such as this could only make itself felt gradually, and required a longer period in which to develop freely. But some traces of it can be remarked even in the poems of the Sicilians. This introduction of a healthier and more natural style of poetry into the traditional manner, these first notes of true poetry are undoubtedly worthy of our special attention, although we must beware of over-estimating their importance, as has been done of late.

Almost all the poems which, in the great Vatican collection of the early lyric poets, bear the name of Giacomo Pugliese, are distinguished by a certain popular tone and by a more realistic colouring. In the midst of a love complaint,

he turns suddenly to his mistress, with a bold expression of impatience, and asks her to give him back his heart:

> Donna, se me non vuoi intendere,
> Ver me non far sì gran faglia,
> Lo mio cor mi degie rendere. . . .[1]

Elsewhere we have a dialogue, a *tenzone* or *contrasto*, as it was called by the Provençal and Italians respectively, in which the lady complains of her bad husband, who holds her captive and disturbs her happy love:

> Meo Sir, a forza m' avviene
> Ch' io m' appiatti od asconda;
> Cà sì distretto mi tiene
> Quelli cui Cristo confonda;
> Non m' auso fare alla porta. . . .[2]

Here we find ourselves removed from the empty abstraction of the love intrigue, as usually treated, into a sphere of reality, whereby the action gains in life and colour. The same remark applies to two poems by Giacomino, which belong to a class of pieces that were very popular among the Italians, namely, those in which the absence or parting from the loved one is sung, and which may thus be shortly termed songs of longing or farewell. Among the Provençals, already, these poems often show special warmth and tenderness of feeling; the expression of longing in them generally leads to recollections of the last great joy that preceded the parting, of the last meeting with the lady, her emotion, and the words she spoke on that occasion, which never cease to echo in the poet's memory. The Italians delight in working out this final scene minutely, in the same way that one takes pleasure in recalling a joy that is past, in all its details, and in this process numerous realistic traits appear, which are otherwise absent from this poetry. There is mention of kisses and embraces, and Giacomino Pugliese tells how his mistress descended into his arms from the window of her palace. In a song of longing by Jacopo of Lentini ("S'io doglio non è

[1] Lady, if thou dost not wish to hear me, thou must not do me so great a wrong, but must give me back my heart. . . .

[2] My beloved, I am forced to hide and to conceal myself; for so closely he holds me, whom may Christ confound; I do not venture to go to the door. . . .

meraviglia"), an oft repeated thought is expressed in a simple and heartfelt manner: the poet complains that, on his departure, his heart remained with "Madonna," and he envies it the place it has chosen, while he himself mourns far away. And what sincerity of feeling is shown in the exclamation at the end: "Occhi ahi vaghi e bionde trezze," which completes the picture of his beloved one's charms. In another poem beginning: "Dolze meo drudo, e vattene," which is attributed to the Emperor Frederick, the parting scene is presented in the animated form of the dialogue. In all these descriptions, in the words which are placed in the mouth of the loved one, in the account of her tenderness and of her lament, the change that has taken place from the ordinary situation of the lyrical poetry of chivalry is worthy of remark. The poet no longer bends, in unceasing and languishing worship, before an eternally cold and cruel mistress; "Madonna" now descends from her position of lofty abstraction and herself gives signs of life and movement, speaking, lamenting, entreating, and affording us a glimpse into her inner soul. It is just this living expression of the workings of a woman's soul that gives to two other poems their special character, and these possess a higher poetical value than the ones that have already been discussed. These are the lament of a girl who thinks she has been betrayed by her lover, "Oi lassa innamorata" by Odo delle Colonne, and the lament of another girl for the departing crusader, "Giamai non mi conforto," by Rinaldo d'Aquino. Although the phraseology of these poems is still conventional, they express, in warm and natural bursts of passion, feelings simple and without artifice, the grief of the deserted girl, the painful recollection of her former bliss, her glowing hatred of the rival in whose arms she believes her faithless lover to be lying:

Lassa! che mi dicia,
Quando m' avea in celato:
Di te, oi vita mia,
Mi tegno più pagato,
Ca s' io avesse in ballia
Lo mondo a segnorato.
Ed or m'à a disdegnanza
E fammi scanoscenza;
Par ch' aggia d' altr' amanza.

O Dio, chi lo m'intenza,
Mora di mala lanza,
E senza penitenza ![1]

and then in the other poem we see the grief of the girl who is left behind, when she prays God for the protection of her lover, and suddenly, in heartfelt and touching words, accuses the cross, which saves the human race, but to her brings ruin by depriving her of her loved one:

La croce salva la gente
E me fa disviare ;
La croce mi fa dolente,
Non mi val Dio pregare.
Oimè, croce pellegrina,
Perchè m' hai sì distrutta ?
Oimè, lassa tapina !
Ch' i' ardo e' ncendo tutta.[2]

In both the poems, as also in those of Jacopo da Lentini and of the Emperor Frederick which have been quoted, the very form—the short and rapid verse, the extremely simple construction of the stanza—in itself suggests a kinship with popular poetry. A third song of a girl, attributed to the same Rinaldo d'Aquino ("Oramai quando fiore"), is related to these two, though it does not reach the same high standard, containing more conventional elements. The fair season fills the girl's heart with love, and she will no longer let her worshipper languish in vain:

Vedendo quell' ombria del fresco bosco
Bene conosco—che accertatamente
Sarà gaudente—l' amor che m' inchina.[3]

Long has he suffered in vain; but now he can hope that his prayer will be heard:

[1] Alas ! what did he say to me, when he was with me in secret : "In thee, oh my life, I possess greater fortune, than if I were ruler over the whole world." And now he disdains me and shows himself ungrateful ; it appears that he loves another. O God, may she who has turned him from me, die, wounded by an evil lance, and without repentance.

[2] The cross saves the human race, but me it leads astray ; the cross fills me with grief, it avails me nought to pray to God. Alas ! cross of the pilgrims, why hast thou brought me such ruin ? Alas ! unhappy wretch that I am ! I am all aglow and on fire !

[3] Seeing that shadow of the fresh wood, I well perceive that he will certainly have joy, who lovingly bends before me.

Ma' l tempo m' innamora
E fammi star pensata
D' aver mercè ormai
D' un fante, che m' adora.
E saccio, che costui per me sostene
Di grandi pene,—l' un core mi dice,
Che si disdice,—e l' altro me n' incora.[1]

All these poems, while imitating the school, show us the beginnings of an original art. Another more extended poem, however, breaks altogether with the school of court poetry, and takes up the opposite position. This is a *Contrasto*, beginning with the verse, "Rosa fresca aulentissima c'apari' nver la state," a conversation between a man and a girl, arranged in such a manner that the stanzas are assigned alternately to the one and to the other. He entreats her to give a hearing to his wishes; she refuses. He becomes more and more pressing; she defends herself as best she can, but as if she were, in reality, disposed to yield eventually. The lover knows full well with whom he has to deal, and does not allow himself to be deterred by her words; he finally attains his object, and the dialogue closes with a very open assent on the part of the girl. Here everything is unpolished and plebeian, but, at the same time, undeniably fresh and natural. There is no sign of affectation; the dialogue is rapid, energetic and expressive, and, after the products of the conventional manner, this rough originality comes quite as a relief, and strongly recalls the popular poetry. The construction of the stanzas also is such as occurs again in somewhat later popular monuments of Southern Italy; they consist of five verses, three long lines of fourteen syllables with a strong cæsura in the middle, rhyming with one another, and two *endecasillabi* at the end, which again rhyme with each other, thus:

Poi tanto trabagliastiti, faccioti meo pregheri,
Che tu vadi, adomannimi a mia mare e a mon peri;
Se dare mi ti degnano, menami alo mosteri,

[1] But the season fills me with love, and inspires me with the thought to take pity on the youth, who worships me. And I know that he endures for me great sufferings; one heart within me says it is not right, and the other bids me do it.

E sposami davanti dala jente,
E poi farò le tuo comannamente.[1]

Finally, this poem occupies a special position on account of its language, which is more strongly dialectical in character. Dante, in his book "De Eloquentia Vulgari," quoted a verse of the "Rosa fresca," as an example of the popular speech of Sicily.

Neither the great Vatican collection, which alone contains the piece, standing among the products of the court poetry, nor Dante gives the name of the author. But a scholar of the sixteenth century, Angelo Colocci, who possessed the manuscript at the time, called the poet Cielo in an index to this volume, and elsewhere in his papers Cielo dal Camo. It is impossible to accept this name, which he himself wished to twist into the form Celio, without further ado, as we do not know from what source he derived it. To make matters worse, Federigo Ubaldini, who was the first to mention the poem in print (1640), took Cielo in Colocci's bad handwriting to be Ciulo. Allacci called him Cielo, Ciulo, and also Ciullo dal Camo. At the beginning of last century this was turned into Ciullo (*i.e.*, Vincenzo) d'Alcamo, and this was the name given to the poet of the "Rosa fresca" till quite recently. The inhabitants of the town of Alcamo were proud of this poet of theirs; a square was named after him, a monument erected in his honour, and a literary myth came to be attached to this invented personality. Sicilian scholars assumed a very early date for the dialogue, the end of the twelfth century, during the period of the Norman rule, merely because the girl, when protesting that all the treasure in the world would not induce her to yield, mentions the wealth possessed by Saladin, and from some other passages they concluded that the writer must have been a great feudal lord, a possessor of towns and castles, forgetting how unsuited the subject-matter and general character of the poem would be to such an author. These views were very properly opposed by

[1] As you have distressed yourself so much, I beg of you that you go and ask my mother and father that they should give me to you; if they are willing to do so, take me to church and marry me before the people there, and then I shall obey your command.

other scholars, and a long and lasting dispute began, which appeared at length to have been settled by the thorough study of Alessandro d'Ancona (1875). He came to the conclusion that the "Rosa fresca" could not have been composed before the year 1231; for the *defensa*, with which the lover, as he says (in stanza v.), means to protect himself against the threats of the girl's relatives, was a legal decree of the constitutions of Melfi, which were not promulgated till the above-mentioned year, and the money in which he calculates the penalty of the *defensa*—the *agostari*—was not coined prior to this date. On the other hand, the Saladin, to whose treasure the girl refers, was not necessarily the famous prince of this name who died in 1193, seeing that the title *Saladin* was adopted by the entire dynasty, and probably became the general designation of a Mussulman ruler. Further, the fact that large sums of money are mentioned twice, and the allusion, in another passage, to long journeys which the lover maintains he has made, do not in any way prove the power and wealth of the poet, who need not have been identical with the person who is introduced as speaker. These are nothing but fictions boastful in character, of the kind that may still be heard from the lips of the people or found in popular songs. And it was as a popular song that D'Ancona regarded this poem—the sole remnant of an old popular literature that had flourished in Sicily.

This theory of D'Ancona as to the character of the poem was disputed later on. Napoleone Caix thought it was not really a popular effusion, but a product of the school of court poetry, and that the piece was merely an imitation of the French *pastourelles*, in which the cultured poet adopts the popular tone with artistic intentions. Caix did not, however, succeed in proving the identity of the situation with that of the supposed models. In the *pastourelle* the knight meets a country girl with her herd, enters into conversation with her and endeavours to make her do his will. In the Italian *contrasto*, we have nothing of the usual machinery, both the characters are of the same station, and belong to the lower classes. The individual similarities that have been noticed are too superficial and insignificant to prove a connection with the French. There was more

foundation in Caix' observation regarding the language of the "Rosa fresca," to the effect that it is studded with expressions of the chivalrous love poetry, which, however, form only a superficial appendage, and contrast strangely with the natural coarseness of the rest. But from this we must not draw the conclusion, that the author was a court poet, who had imitated the manner and even the speech of the people, but, on the contrary, rather that he was a popular poet, a roving minstrel, who was, to a certain degree, influenced by the artificial poetry, as happened at all times. We must, then, regard the *contrasto* not as a genuine popular poem, but as a product of the popular minstrelsy, to which class belong so many other old monuments of Northern Italy, written in dialect, with which we shall have to deal later on.

III

LYRICAL POETRY CONTINUED IN CENTRAL ITALY

IN Italy chivalrous love poetry probably did not long survive the close of the rule of the Hohenstaufen. But the cultivation of lyrical poetry in the vulgar tongue had already been begun in other places, and Tuscany was the principal new centre in which it now continued to flourish. Here it was that Guittone of Arezzo, as early as the year 1260, composed his song on the battle of Monteaperti, and his love poetry is doubtless still older. But here, too, there is a lack of reliable data. Most of the Tuscan poets that wrote in the same manner appear to be more recent than Guittone; he is considered the head of a school, and looked up to as a master. All the important Tuscan communes take part in the literary activity. In Arezzo, besides Guittone, Master Bandino and Giovanni dell' Orto compose in the Provençal court manner. To Siena belong Messer Folcacchiero and men like Meo or Mino Macconi, while Florence is represented by Dante da Majano, so called after his native place, a little town near the hill of Fiesole. Specially numerous is the band of Pisan poets: Jacopo Mostacci, Gallo Pisano, Pucciandone Martelli, Betto Mettefuoco, Pannuccio dal Bagno, Bacciarone di Messer Baccone, Lotto di Ser Dato.

It was probably only from Tuscany that the poetical tradition reached the neighbouring city of Bologna, where especially Paolo da Castello, or, as he is also called, Paolo Zoppo, belongs to the old conventional school, and, at the beginning of his career, also the same Guido Guinicelli, from whom the first important reform of this poetry was to take its start. Finally, we find among the old lyrical poets two others from Romagna, according to Dante the only ones in this part of Italy that devoted themselves to artificial poetry, and in fact the only ones whose names we meet with in the

collections of lyrics. They are Tommaso of Faenza and Ugolino Buzzuola, likewise of Faenza. The latter, as we learn from the chronicler Salimbene, belonged to the Guelph family of the Alberghetti that ruled in Faenza, who also called themselves Manfredi, and was the father of that ill-famed Frate Alberigo, who treacherously murdered his relations, and whose shameful memory was perpetuated by Dante in the "Commedia" ("Inf." xxxiii. 118).

Among the poets just named we have a direct continuation of the poetic manner begun in the South of Italy. The connection is unbroken and we are surely justified in assuming that some of the oldest Tuscans wrote poetry at the very court of Frederick II., where the most distinguished men from all parts of the country came together, and that it was probably just from there that they brought back the poetic manner to their home. Perhaps it was thus with Jacopo Mostacci of Pisa and Paganino of Sarzana, whose songs are contained in the Vatican collection quite near the beginning among those by Southern poets. The predominant and distinguishing characteristic of the school, the servile imitation of Provençal models, continues among the lyrical poets of Central Italy that have been mentioned, and consequently also the same ideas and modes of expression, the same conventional images repeat themselves. The language, too, though it is influenced by local peculiarities, shows in many forms the tradition that came from the South. Where the manuscripts, as is often the case, fluctuate in assigning the authorship of one and the same poem between a Southern and a Tuscan or Bolognese poet, we are not able to distinguish to which of them it belongs, so similar was their poetical manner. That people were conscious of this close connection with the Southern school was clear from the fact that, as Dante tells us, the whole of the oldest Italian poetry, that is to say, all belonging to the whole period that preceded his own times, was called Sicilian, and Dante himself believed that this name would have to be adhered to in the future. In point of fact, this name is thoroughly appropriate, and the designation of Sicilian school is used again at the present day, not only for the poets of the court of Frederick II., but for the whole movement in the Italian lyrical poetry of the thirteenth century which underwent Provençal influence.

This Provençal influence was even renewed and strengthened in Tuscany. The style and language of Guittone of Arezzo show more clearly than in the case of any other poet the traces of a diligent study of the troubadours; he frequently quotes them in his letters, and once translates a passage of Peire Vidal very correctly. Of Messer Migliore degli Abati the "Cento Novelle" relate that he spoke Provençal excellently. Guittone, bewailing the death of the poet Giacomo da Leona, sings of him that he had spoken and written poetry in French and Provençal better than in Aretine. We have a sonnet in the Provençal tongue by Paolo Lanfranchi of Pistoja, and two such by Dante da Majano. More important still is the fact that one of the two old Provençal grammars, the "Donatz Provensals," was composed about this time in Italy and for the special use of the Italians. Moreover, the other old Provençal grammar, the "Razos del Trobar" of Raimon Vidal, did not remain unknown; the poet Girolamo Terramagnino of Pisa turned the prose into bad Provençal verse.

Among the Tuscan poets of this school instances of direct borrowing from the troubadours are more frequent. Thus Jacopo Mostacci, imitating a poem of Jordan de l'Isla—"Longa sazon ai estat vas amor," in the canzone "Umile core e fino e amoroso," followed his original more closely than had probably ever been done in the South. Furthermore, one of the Provençal classes of poems, one that is specially characteristic, was not cultivated in Italy till this time. It is true that the Sicilians knew the *Contrasti*, the dialogues between Madonna and the lover, but not yet that other kind of *tenzone* which reproduces conversations and discussions of different poets among themselves. In Provence the *tenzone* was likewise bound together in the form of a canzone; but later it was also customary for the one poet to send a single stanza, to which the other then replied with the same rhymes. But the sonnet was originally nothing but a single stanza, and so it is natural that those corresponding *tenzone* stanzas were in Italy reproduced in the shape of the sonnets with reply, which are in the Vatican collection actually called *tenzoni*. Frequently question and answer came and went several times in succession, so that a regular series arose, which again in its turn corresponded to

the ordinary extended Provençal *tenzone*; and, just as in the Provençal *tenzone*, more than two poets took part in the conversation, the first questioner sending his sonnet simultaneously to several people. Sometimes personal insults, but more frequently general questions of various kinds, formed the subject of these discussions. Often, as in most of the similar poems of the troubadours, it is a question of certain subtle distinctions in the matter of love affairs. Thus a certain Bartolommeo Notajo asks one Bonodico of Lucca, which of two knights a lady should prefer—the one who boldly declares his passion, or the one who is afraid and silent. Buonagiunta Urbiciani asks an unknown poet which is the first grief caused by love, and Dante da Majano desires to learn from from Tommaso of Faenza what he considers to be love's greatest sorrow. But other, and still less poetical problems, also appear in these dialogues. One asks another to resolve his doubts in scientific questions, and the Florentines, as we shall see, make *tenzoni* on political subjects, too. Dino Compagni, in a sonnet, lays before the lawyer, Lapo Saltarelli, a complicated legal case, and Guittone and his imitators occupy themselves with abstruse moral and theological themes. That variety of the *tenzone*, also, which was called *joc partit*, or *partimen*, and in which each of the two poets defended one of two possible replies, was imitated by the Tuscans, though more rarely. Federigo dell' Ambra had such a dispute in nine sonnets with the notary, Ser Pace, on the subject, whether it be more advisable to take the joys and sorrows of love as they come, or to abstain from them altogether; and a thoroughly Provençal *partimen* question is the one Ricco put to Ser Pace, as to whether it be better to love a young girl or a married woman. The transplanting of this class of poetry to Italy was by no means unimportant: the correspondences in series of sonnets which resulted from it remained a favourite form of composition among succeeding generations and in later ages. Inasmuch as they adopted fresh themes for treatment, they often served to express in a graphic manner the intellectual movement of the times.

The affected and artificial forms, too, were adopted in Tuscany from the Provençal poetry much more readily than had been the case in Sicily. Very popular was the juggling

with words having a similar sound, the so-called *bisticci*, as with *amore* and *amaro*, or the like; also the continual repetition throughout a whole stanza or a whole poem, of the same word, or of the same stem, which was called "replication" by the Provençals. Thus, for example, Guittone wrote in his fifty-fourth sonnet:

Tuttor ch' io dirò gioi, gioiva cosa,
Intenderete che di voi favello,
Che gioia sete di beltà gioiosa
E gioia di piacer gioivo e bello. . . .[1]

And the Italians added another kind of trick, namely, an accumulation of intermediate rhymes, which were not used so extensively by the Provençals themselves. They were not satisfied with reproducing the sound of the close of each verse only once in the body of the next verse, but repeated the rhyme several times in the course of the verse, as, for example, in the lines of the Pisan Pucciandone Martelli:

Similemente—gente—criatura,
La portatura—pura—ed avvenente
Faite plagente—mente—per natura,
Sì che'n altura—cura—vo' la gente.

From this affectation sprang the obscure or difficult manner of the troubadours, arising out of the straining after something new and extraordinary, something of weight, which was to be represented outwardly by a mode of expression difficult to understand, but which, often enough, was not to be found in the subject-matter itself. A refined art here, as has often been the case, mistook the pleasure afforded by the solution of the difficulties for the delight taken in the depth of the thought itself. Arnaut Daniel, the chief representative of this tendency, the one who exaggerated it most, was held in high repute in Italy, as is proved by Dante's praise of him in the "Purgatorio" and in the book, "De Eloq. Vulg." Hence even the "obscure" poetry found imitators. But, again, only one such poem ("Del meo voler dir l' ombra") is attributed to a Southern poet, the Sicilian Inghilfredi.

[1] As often as I say "joy," joyous Being, thou wilt understand that I speak of thee, who art a joy of joyous beauty, and a joy of joyous and beauteous delight.

The others are by Tuscans. This obscurity of diction went hand in hand with all kinds of artificialities of form, alliteration, repetition, and intermediate rhymes, but, especially, unnatural and difficult rhymes, *rims cars*, as the Provençals called them. The Italian poems of the obscure manner are nearly all characterised by the rhymes of homonyms, in Provençal, *rims equivocs*, or, still more frequently, by the repetition in their stead of the same word in the rhyme; this was merely an attempt to imitate the *rims cars* of the troubadours. For this reason such poems were called *canzoni equivoche*. To this class belong, among others, two poems of Pannuccio dal Bagno, "Poichè mia voglia varca" and "Di dir già più non celo," an anonymous piece, "Amor tegnomi matto," which has been wrongly attributed to Meo Abbracciavacca, and Guittone's thirty-sixth canzone. He and his school were especially noted for their obscurity, and, when this was intentional on the part of the poet, it is often quite impossible for us to penetrate into the hidden meaning; it is true that when, now and again, it is really revealed to us, it is so insignificant that we can scarcely regret very much the fact that our efforts have mostly been futile.

In these vain and insipid triflings, in the exaggerations of the manner, we may note the ever increasing decline of the Provençal style of poetry in Tuscany. At the same time this assumes a certain commonplace aspect, that stands in contrast to the spirit originally contained in it. For this love-poetry is nothing but a superficial, rhetorical exercise, composed in the traditional manner. This accounts for the increase in artificiality, since emptiness of subject-matter causes all the attention to be devoted to the form. Men wrote poetry without feeling what they wrote; how were they to be made to feel a chivalrous love, which, in truth, they no longer knew? This kind of poetry, moreover, had its foundation no longer in the existing state of society. For at the court of Frederick there had been more of the feudal spirit of chivalry than elsewhere; besides judges and doctors, courtiers and princes, too, wrote poetry there. In Tuscany, on the other hand, this style of poetry coincides with the life of the communes, the exact opposite of the chivalry by which it had originally been created. Hence it was necessary for the poetry to adapt itself to these new

customs and to this new spirit, before a development could take place that possessed the elements of vitality.

In Northern Italy the free constitution of the cities was not of long duration. As early as the thirteenth century, dynasties had become possessed of sovereignty. Tuscany, however, the development of whose independence had been slower, retained its free communes, with their stormy political life. The cities oppose such remnants of the feudal system as were still existing, they destroy the castles of the nobles living in the country, force many of the great families to submit to them and to reside within the city walls. The communes make war upon each other, endeavour to suppress one another, and to add each to its own power. Florence, which at the beginning is not so important as the other great municipalities, rises rapidly till it supersedes them all and becomes the centre of Tuscany. The government comes more and more into the hands of the citizens, the families of the nobles rend the cities with their factions, and wear out each other's strength. The names of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, first used in Florence (though it is not known exactly how this came about), from which city they spread through the whole of Italy, only serve as a kind of signboard and means of union. Behind the partisanship for Pope and Emperor are hidden, as the true igniting sparks, personal interests, jealousy for the possession of public power, and private family feuds. The same animosity and heartless cruelty that mark the struggles of the cities against each other, mark also those of the factions within them. Neither peace nor a lasting condition of affairs exists; victory is now on one side, now on the other, and is followed by fire and pillage, by the exile of the enemy and the ruin of families. It was a wild, anarchical state of things; but at the same time there was not wanting a strong, though limited, patriotism, a warm love for the commune. Thus the cities, in spite of the thousand evils and dangers that threatened them, flourished and grew in population and wealth. And it was this very ferment of passion, with which public life was filled, that became a fertile soil for future poetry.

The troubadours, who took an active part in the affairs of the world, possessed, besides their love poetry, the *serventesi*, that is, political and satirical songs, and these formed, at any

rate in the period of decline, the most interesting portion of their literature. The Italian poets of the North, who wrote in Provençal, cultivated this class successfully; the Sicilians, however, held aloof from it, and, as far as can be judged from the poems that have been preserved, only sang of love, much to the detriment of their art. The only exceptions are two dry moralisations that have come down under the name of Inghilfredi Siciliano, and the two moralising sonnets of King Enzo and Mazzeo Ricco. This point marks an important difference between the Tuscan poets and those of the South. The former, from the outset, did not limit their poetical subject-matter to such an extent, and they possess far more poetry of the kind corresponding to the Provençal *serventes*. Guittone's best poem is a genuine political song of reproach, written in the year 1260, when the Florentines were utterly routed by the Sienese and King Manfred's cavalry in the bloody battle of Monteaperti. In consequence of this battle the Ghibellines, who had been driven out two years previously, returned to Florence, while the Guelphs were forced to retreat. The poet is on the side of the conquered: he bewails the city which had been thrust from the height of her power through the shameful action of her own sons, the Ghibellines, at whom he scoffs, because in order to gain the mastery, they had subjected themselves to the swords of the Germans and to the enemies of their commune. Though the form is heavy and prosaic, yet it expresses a sincere and energetic feeling, especially in the case of its bitter irony at the close:

Baron Lombardi e Romani e Pugliesi
E Toschi e Romagnuoli e Marchigiani,
Fiorenza, fior che sempre rinovella,
A sua corte v'appella;
Chè fare vuol di sè Re dei Toscani,
Da poi che li Alamani
Have conquisi per forza e i Senesi.[1]

The victory of Charles of Anjou in the year 1266 decided in the whole of Italy the supremacy of the Papal party; the

[1] Lombard, Roman, Apulian and Tuscan, barons, and ye of Romagna and the Mark, Florence, the flower that ever blossoms afresh, calls ye to its court; for it wishes to make itself King of the Tuscans, since it has conquered by force the Germans and people of Siena.

Ghibellines were again expelled from Florence, this time for ever, and the city remained the most intensely Guelph commune in Tuscany. Therefore the attempt of the youthful Conradin to reconquer his heritage, and the events of the year 1268 connected with it, naturally produced a great sensation. These form the subject of a series of sonnets in the manner of *tenzoni* by Florentine poets, who, according to the party to which they belonged, cast for the combatants a different horoscope as to the issue. Monte Andrea scoffs at the vain hopes of the Ghibellines, and trusts in Charles's strength, as he is protector of the right, and Pope and Church are on his side; he recalls the saying of Clement IV. concerning Conradin, that he would be led by the bad counsellors, like a lamb to the slaughtering-bench. Schiatta di Messer Albizzo Pallavillani defends the cause of the Ghibellines; he prophesies that fortune would turn, and people would see how the lamb could bite. Orlanduccio Orafo expects that there would be a hot contest with doubtful issue, seeing that both parties were very strong. Palamidesse Belindore is of opinion that the young Conradin should rather read his Psalter; if he were sensible, he would have nothing to do with the champions of St. Peter. Beroardo Notajo doubts Charles's courage and ability, and Ser Cione Notajo even thinks he would take to flight before the arrival of the Germans. In another place there is a dispute concerning the prospects of the pretenders to the German imperial crown, King Alfonso of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, and concerning the chances of Frederick of Misnia ("Federigo di Stuffo") to the throne of Sicily. Thus we learn the different views of the Florentine citizens, notaries and artisans on the affairs of the great world without, followed by them with keen interest. It is to be regretted that this political colloquy has not yet been published completely and in its proper sequence.

To the expedition of Conradin refers also a canzone, attributed in the Vatican collection to Don Arrigo, that is to say to the Infante Don Enrique, brother of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and cousin of Charles of Anjou. This prince came to Italy in 1266, and being closely allied to Charles, was appointed at first a senator of Rome through his aid, but afterwards, on quarrelling with him, became one of the chief followers

of Conradin. The poem does indeed contain allusions to the private concerns of the prince, so that it cannot even be understood by one unacquainted with them. At the same time it would appear strange that a Spaniard, who had only been in Italy for so short a time, should have composed a poem in the language of the country. It is more likely that some other person wrote the piece in his name. It was evidently composed shortly after the battle of Ponte a Valle (June 25, 1268), which greatly roused the courage of the Ghibellines; and so it is filled with triumphant joy, incites Conradin to advance rapidly along the opened path of victory, and sings the good fortune of the garden of Sicily, seeing that such a gardener approaches, who will bring back its happiness and prosperity after times of darkness.

Of slight poetical value, but still interesting on account of their subject-matter, are three political poems by Pisans, the canzone of Pannuccio dal Bagno, "La dolorosa noja," that of Lotto di Ser Dato, "Della fera infertà e angosciosa," and finally that of Bacciarone, "Se doloroso a voler movo dire." They are laments on the affliction and misery existing under the bad rulers that have made themselves masters of the city of Pisa. All the three of them allude without doubt to the same event, namely, the suppression of the Ghibelline party by Count Ugolino (1285). In Pannuccio's poem there is also mention of the loss of the castles with which the count was reproached on all sides, and of which his enemies afterwards made use in order to bring about, under an accusation of treachery, his well-known and terrible death, described by Dante. From the canzone of Lotto it is evident that the poet himself was in prison, and the same thing had happened to Pannuccio, who in another lament turns to his cousin for help. These citizens of the Tuscan Communes were themselves entangled so deeply in the political events, that these were bound to be re-echoed in their verses. A certain Fredi of Lucca bewails his own fall from a position of power on the occasion of a revolution in the commune ("Dogliosamente e con gran malananza"), applying to his political misfortune, in a curious manner, the similes of animals that were usual in the love-poetry, to his political enemies. An opponent of his, Arrigo Baldonasco, replied with great bitterness in the same rhymes, representing his misfortune as the just punishment

for the acts of violence of which he had been guilty, and scoffingly repeating some of his similes of animals.

But this kind of poetry, occupying itself with real events, with political affairs instead of with the pains of an imaginary love, passes beyond the narrow limits of the oldest lyrics; here the liberation from foreign influence begins, and we have an independent subject-matter for poetry, which, it is true, is still expressed in an awkward and prosaic form. The same applies, at least in part, to the moralising poetry also; for it stands in relation to the actual interests of life, to which the formulas of the old school no longer applied, and contains within itself the germ of a fresh development, however small the absolute value these productions possess, and however dry and uninviting these dull and long-winded didactic poems may appear to us to-day. Moralising canzones and sonnets were composed by the Tuscans in great numbers, by Buonagiunta, Monte Andrea and the Pisans, but especially by Guittone of Arezzo, who, here as always, is the most characteristic representative of the oldest kind of Tuscan poetry, and as such has still a claim to our special attention.

Guittone's literary activity is divided into two sharply distinguished periods. To the first belonged the love-poetry. Without love, he then thought, like the troubadours, there is no excellence, no poetry; and so he endeavours to fall in love, entreating Amore to enter his breast, and begging the poet Bandino to teach him what he must do in order to fall in love (Sonnet 52). But then came a turning-point in his life, "in the middle of the way," as with Dante:

> From my beginning until middle age,
> I was in a place shameful, foul, and hideous,
> To which I turned me quite . . .

he says, in the poem on his conversion to the Virgin Mary (Canzone III.). He was, therefore, probably thirty-five years old at the time when he entered the order of the *Cavalieri di Sta. Maria* which had been in existence since 1261, and which was called the order of the *frati gaudenti*, as its members often did not trouble themselves much about the fulfilment of their vows. Guittone, however, was prompted to take this step by an earnest religious desire; he abandoned

the comfortable life he had been leading, and left wife and children, although the rules of the order did not absolutely insist on this. His standpoint was now totally changed; the love he had formerly extolled he now reviled in the most abusive manner, extolling the true love of God only in its place. He now denies that worldly love is the source of excellence, nor does he hold it true that a man must be in love in order to be able to make poetry; on the contrary, love is, according to him, illness and folly. Just and excellent things are done only by the wise man, and not by the fool. He condemns his own former life, and his own poetry, warning people against reading his love-songs. To the same Master Bandino, whom he had first begged for instruction in the art of love, he now directs a sonnet in quite a different tone (No. 164), in which he says that it would be a wise thing on his part if he were to leave earthly love as he himself has done, and in a canzone (No. xxiv.) he shows by what means one may be cured of this malady, namely, by thoughts of God, by fasting, castigation, and scourging of the stubborn flesh.

Such cases of penitence and conversion were in the Middle Ages of very usual occurrence; the knight who had passed his life amidst the crash of arms, the troubadour who had sung the praises of the ladies, entered the cloister in later life, and prayed God to forgive him for his sins. Among the Provençals the poems of penitence are numerous, and there are also several by Italians of that age. But in this case Guittone had only returned to his own self. It had been a matter of difficulty for him to follow the manner of the love-poetry; now he gives himself up entirely to his fancy for dry argumentation, and no longer writes poems, but treatises and sermons in verse. Thus, for example, the seventh canzone, on the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, is a collection of syllogisms in the language of the schools, with quotations from Tully, Aristotle, Boethius, and Seneca. He possesses neither the warmth of feeling nor the simplicity that makes popular religious poetry attractive to us. His is a cold and subtle intellect; we respect the character of the man, but miss the poet. He expresses his thoughts just as chance laid them on his lips. His aim was to instruct and to preach, not to make poetry, and in his

letters he often quoted his verses as didactic maxims. Now and again he hits on a vigorous expression, an effective image, such as will occur to a man who is filled with a sincere and strong conviction; but these happy touches are rare, and as a general rule a prosaic aridity predominates in these moralisations, while insipid passages are by no means absent.

At the same time, Guittone, even in these pieces, did not abandon the poetical expedients that were borrowed from the Provençals; he adopts the old artificial forms, overloads a religious sonnet (No. 1) with intermediate rhymes, employs the repetition of the same word in an admonition addressed apparently to some one about to enter the cloister (No. 20). But the altered subject-matter at times gives the form quite a different character; as in the single instance where he imitates the Provençal class of poem called *plazer* (canzone x.). This was with the troubadours a piece in which the author enumerated the things that gave him pleasure, and thus expressed the tendencies that were to him a source of joy: Bertran de Born the wild delight he took in battle, the Monk of Montaudon the pleasure afforded him by flowers and springs, by the song of birds and beautiful girls. Quite different is the line of thought of the *frate gaudente* of Arezzo; the things that please him are a faithful, loving spouse, one who makes youth and beauty subordinate to chastity, a widow who takes good care of her family, a prelate who fulfils his sacred duties, a monk who, after having abandoned the world, no longer goes about and has dealings with the world, the latter a course that was followed with special partiality by the Monk of Montaudon. And so in the hands of Guittone this class of poetry, full of vivacity and gay humour, became an earnest didactic poem.

At the side of Provençal influence, we note in Guittone, and especially during the period of the moral poetry, another influence, that of Latin. Guittone was acquainted with the authors of antiquity that were at that time generally read, and also quoted them; it was natural that this study also should gradually leave traces on the productions of the Italians in the vulgar tongue. But here classicism really asserts itself only in the mode of expression, and, as a matter of fact, much to its detriment. Guittone employs numerous

Latinisms; he also imitates the Latin order of words, and from this, twisted and confused constructions result, often the very cause of the obscurity of his verses.

The side of Guittone's poetical activity which displays his individuality to the best advantage has already been touched on. It is represented by some of his political poems. The song of reproach addressed to the Florentines after the Battle of Monteaperti is probably the best thing he wrote, as well as a historical monument of importance. Almost as good is the invective and admonition composed for his fellow-citizens, the Aretines (canzone ix.); they are earnest words, full of vigour, the expression of a manly character. In them we already notice something of the spirit of Dante's powerful invectives, if it were not that their abstract prolixity detracts from their effect.

Several of Guittone's pieces are epistles addressed to individuals; but in addition to them we have a number of letters in prose, admonitions, sermons to brothers of the order, to friends or political personages, filled with a strong zeal for what is right and good, like the moral poems, and like these, too, long-winded and often lacking in taste. The most interesting of these is the fourteenth letter, addressed to the Florentines, and corresponding very closely, in part word for word, with the canzone referring to the Battle of Monteaperti. It was, therefore, probably composed about the same time. If this is so, the author acquires a special importance as one of the oldest writers of prose; for, as we shall see, only very few specimens of Italian prose are in existence that go back farther than 1260, and even these are not of a literary character. It is true, however, that there is only a slight difference between Guittone's poetry and his prose. His language and his style remain the same as in the rhymed letters; we find the same obscurity, heaviness, and affectation, the same weary contortions of the phrases forming the period, the same love of repetition, the same reminiscences of Latin and Provençal. Count Galvani, therefore, thought that this mode of expression was no real prose at all, and in his "Lezioni accademiche" he tried to show, that even the non-rhymed letters were composed in verses of varying length, or, to put it differently, in a kind of rhythmical prose, with verses intermingling. Be

this as it may, it is natural that the first attempt in prose should bear a close resemblance to the use of poetry. Literary prose, as opposed to that of popular documents, is derived from the language of poetry, as Dante remarks in his book, "De Eloquentia Vulgari" (ii. 1), with a discernment we often meet with in him—a discernment which characterises the essence of things so sharply and so fitly.

Guittone of Arezzo died in 1294, after having given, a year previously, a portion of his fortune for the foundation of the monastery *degli Angeli* in Florence. He exercised a considerable influence on the literature of his time. The numerous sonnets addressed to him show the esteem in which he was held. He was considered for a time in Tuscany to be the master of the art, and the imitation of his manner is unmistakable in several poems of Meo Abbracciavacca, Dotto Reali, Monte Andrea and others. The three Pisans, Pannuccio, Bacciarone and Lotto, appear also to be closely related to his school. Common characteristics of these three are a mode of expression so twisted, a way of transposing words so unnatural and so opposed to the genius of the language, that they are very difficult to understand, even when they do not purposely employ the dark manner. In these cases also we have nothing but the desire to imitate the style of the Latin poets, such as we already saw in Guittone, except that the Pisans exaggerated still more this mistaken classicism in outward form.

Among the poets of the South we have already noted traces of popular sentiment in the manner of the school, and seen some blossoms of real poetry springing from it. In Tuscany, with its fresh and vigorous popular life, this phenomenon was bound to repeat itself to an even wider extent. This popular influence shows itself in different poets in a varying degree. Some, such as Monte Andrea and Guido Orlandi, appear at one time as servile imitators of the Sicilians and Provençals, and then again they strike a different and a freer note, returning to themselves and to the real sphere that surrounds them. Here we remark a fact that repeats itself in the cases of Guido Guinicelli and Onesto of Bologna, that such a renovation of the poetical subject-matter occurs more frequently in the sonnet and

ballad than in the canzone. The canzone was the exalted, solemn form of lyrical poetry, which accordingly always adhered longest to the traditional style, while the sonnet and ballad, which were regarded as inferior forms, have often a wider scope, and assume a more modern character.

The sonnet, which was but rarely to be met with in the south, was very popular in Tuscany, and was remodelled in various ways. Verses of seven syllables were inserted between the fourteen verses of eleven syllables, and this gave the so-called *sonetto doppio* and the *sonetto rinterzato*, forms which Guittone was also fond of using. The fourteen lines were even made up of verses of eleven and seven syllables, or the whole sonnet was formed of lines of seven syllables. Moreover, Guittone at times replaced the two quatrains by ten verses, and this same form was employed by Monte Andrea, who also wrote real double sonnets of twenty-eight verses (four quatrains and four triplets). Far more usual than such an addition to the quatrains, was the method of adding to the triplets, at the end of the poem, the so-called *coda*, consisting of two or three verses of eleven syllables, or of a verse of seven syllables rhyming with the preceding line, and two verses of eleven syllables rhyming together. All this testifies to a desire to infuse a greater variety into the forms, which, however, became still more artificial by these efforts, and more difficult to handle. And so these varieties of the sonnet were, none of them, long-lived; they disappeared in the fourteenth century, with the exception of the *sonetto colla coda*, which became and remained the favourite form of facetious poetry.

A truly popular form of metrical composition was the ballad, the dance-poem; in Provence and in France it was just as popular in character. The Sicilians do not appear to have known it, though it is true that a poem of the kind, which, to judge from its dialect, belongs to the South, is contained in the Vatican collection of songs—"Et donali conforto, se te chiace." At any rate it may be said of the ballad also, that it did not become really important before its cultivation in Central Italy. The poem is constructed in accordance with its destination to be sung in accompaniment to the dance; it begins with the refrain, the *ripresa*, so called because it is taken up afresh by the chorus after

each stanza, while the latter is itself given out by the solo voice. The stanza is again portioned out into three parts, consisting of two divisions which are constructed alike and which were designated by the old prosodists as mutations or feet (*pedes*), and a third, the *volta*, which corresponds exactly to the *ripresa*. At the end of the whole song the older poets often added a new *ripresa*, which was sung in this place instead of the old refrain, a custom we find also among the Provençals.

A fresher and more natural tone in the poetry is especially noticeable in a number of love-dialogues, the address and reply of which are lively in movement, while showing at the same time a scoffing spirit. Of this kind is a chain of five sonnets by the Florentine Chiaro Davanzati. In these the lady accompanies her lover's dismissal with words of good counsel, and will not listen to his protestations of honourable intentions; on the other hand, she zealously defends pure morals and fidelity to the husband, who had hitherto only appeared in this class of poetry as the jealous brute and disturber of the lovers. The same rebuke is administered to the lover in Guido Orlandi's *tenzone* in ballad form—"Partire, amor, non oso"—though this set is far more restricted in manner to the old style. A dialogue which has come down under the name of a certain Ciacco dell' Anguillaia of Florence, resembles in its movement the "Rosa fresca aulentissima;" the subject, however, is treated not with the plebeian coarseness to be found in this poem, but with delicacy and grace, and at the same time the courtly phraseology has not entirely disappeared. The lover prays for compassion, calls his girl a sweet jewel, a *gemma leziosa*, extols her perfection and protests that he is her slave. But she replies with a malicious refusal. She does not wish to be the miracle-working jewel, from which he had hoped to derive aid:

Assai son gemme in terra
Ed in fiume ed in mare,
C' hanno virtude in guerra
E fanno altru' allegrare.
Amico, io non son dessa
Di quelle tre nessuna;
Altrove va per essa
E cerca altra persona.

And he again:

Madonna, troppo è grave
La vostra risponsione,
Chè io non aggio nave
Nè non son marangone,
Ch'io sappia andar cercando
Colà ove mi dite.
Per voi perisco amando,
Se non mi sovvenite.

But the *gemma leziosa* consoles him in a mocking tone, promising him to have masses said for him if he should die:

Se perir tu dovessi
Per questo cercamento,
Non crederia che avessi
In te innamoramento,
Ma s' tu credi morire
Innanzi ch' esca l' anno,
Per te fo messe dire,
Come altre donne fanno.[1]

and thus the sighs and railing words go on, till she finally yields after all.

In another dialogue in sonnet form by Chiaro Davanzati, the simile of the bird that has flown away, with which he compares his heart that has flown away to his beloved, is pleasing in its simplicity:

Così diviene a me similmente
Come all' augel che va e non riviene,
Per la pastura, che trova piacente,
Dimora in loco e ad esso si contiene.
Così il mio cuor . . .[2]

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[1] "Many jewels are on land and in river and in sea, which have power in war and make people rejoice. Friend, I am not any one of those three; go thou elsewhere for them and seek another girl."—"Madonna, too severe is thy reply; for I have no ship and am no diver, so as to be able to go seeking these where thou tellest me. For thee I die loving, if thou dost not aid me."—"If thou shouldst have to die through this quest, I would not believe that I should have love for thee; but if thou thinkest to die before the year ends, I (shall) have masses said for thee, as other women do."

[2] Thus it happens to me similarly as to the bird that goes and does not return; because of the agreeable food that it finds, it remains in a place, and keeps to it. Thus my heart . . .

And the lady replies :

Io mi disdico che non ho tuo core,
E s' io l' avessi, lo ti renderia ;
Ma poi non l' ho, richiedilo ad Amore,
A cui lo desti per la tua follia.[1]

A sonnet by Chiaro contains an idea that occurs frequently later on, and especially in Dante's lyrics. He celebrates his lady by comparing her with the splendour of the sun that bathes everything in its light, and as one dispensing salvation and blessings, the mere sight of whom confers joy and happiness :

La risplendente luce, quande appare,
In ogni scura parte da chiarore,
Cotanto ha di virtute il suo guardare.
Che sovra tutti gli altri è il suo splendore.
Così madonna mia face allegrare,
Mirando lei, chi avesse alcun dolore. . . .[2]

Altogether, Chiaro Davanzati, a Florentine of whom we know that he fought in the battle of Monteaperti (1260) and that he was no longer living in the year 1280, is the poet in whose works this change in the poetic manner may best be studied. It is true that we find him in the greater part of his numerous poems in beaten tracks, as a disciple of the Sicilians and later of Guittone, while in some passages there are manifest traces of the influence of Guido Guinicelli, which is, however, not yet of any great importance. But elsewhere his originality and spontaneousness surprise us, sometimes just in those very cases where he is imitating. One of his canzoni—"Non già per gioja ch'aggia mi conforto"—takes its subject from a poem of Sordello—"Bel cavalier me plai que per amor." But here Chiaro has dealt exceedingly freely with his model. What he found was a poem consisting of two short stanzas with refrain. The idea contained therein, that a knight had died of love, and that

[1] I deny having thy heart, and if I had it, I would give it back to thee ; but since I have it not, demand it of Amore, to whom thou gavest it through thy folly.

[2] The resplendent light, when it appears, distributes radiance in every obscure place ; so much power has its look, that its brilliance is over all others. So my lady, when one looks at her, makes him joyful who might have any pain. . . .

this would assuredly convert the ladies and make them more compassionate, this idea, which was at any rate more original than others, took his fancy, and he made use of it, with many additions of his own, for a far more extended poem, which has certainly gained in the expansion. The same independence is shown in the case where he has used a poem of Guittone, namely, the aforementioned canzone of the Aretine which was itself a reproduction of the Provençal form of the *plazer*. He selected some of the rules of life contained in this moralising poem, and, freeing them from their monotonous dryness, transformed them into charming little sketches, each of which is comprised within a sonnet.

In many other poems by Tuscans, as in those of Maestro Francesco, Maestro Rinuccino, of Compiuta Donzella, of Pacino Angiolieri and of Maestro Migliore, a considerable innovation may at least be remarked in the matter of form. The language has lost its archaic character, and has become more rapid and fluent. The Provençal and dialectical elements, the heavy and involved periods, disappear more and more, giving way to a natural and elegant form of speech. This may be observed even in those poems which, in all other respects, fall within the old range of ideas, as in the canzone of Bondie Dietaiuti: "Madonna, m'è avvenuto simigliante." After a comparison (taken from Bernart de Ventadorn) with the lark, which soars up to the light, and then sinks down dazzled, the poet continues:

E così sormontai, donna, veggendo,
Chè mi donò amore l' ardimento
Di voi amar, sovrana di beltate,
Ma sospirando, lasso, e piangendo
Son dichinato, poi va in perdimento
Per me mercè, e frango in pietate.
Ma più m' aggrada l' amoroso foco,
Ove il mio core ardente
Per voi si sta, piacente,
Che per un' altra aver sollazzo e gioco.[1]

Here there is not a single original turn. The boldness given

[1] And thus I raised myself on high, lady, seeing thee, for love gave me the boldness to love thee, supreme in beauty. But sighing, alas, and weeping, I have fallen low, and am dashed down into wretchedness, since for me mercy is lost. But the fire of love is dearer to me, in which, oh gracious lady, my glowing heart lies for your sake, than through another to have joy and solace.

by Amore, the heart burning in the fire of love, the readiness rather to suffer for Madonna's sake than to be rewarded by another, all these traits are commonplaces from the repertory of the Sicilian school, and the same remark applies to the image of the basilisk, to the appellation of the lady as *chiaro miraglio* and to the explanation of the origin of love that follows. But these things are expressed in so simple, tender, and skilful a manner, that they may almost be said to be imbued with a fresh charm. Here, too, we remark the presence of a new inspiration, a gradual transformation from the old manner, before the actual disappearance of the latter. We have here a school of transition, which stands midway between the Tuscan followers of the Sicilians, such as Guittone, Buonagiunta, and Dante da Majano, and the new school of the *dolce stil nuovo*, beginning with Guido Guinicelli.

These poets of the transition are almost all Florentines, a fact which shows that this city was destined to become the centre of literary development. Their opposition to the stubborn followers of the old school was by no means unconscious; on the contrary, we have contemporary evidence of a regular literary polemic. A sonnet, written either by Chiaro Davanzati or by Maestro Rinuccini, is directed against Buonagiunta Urbiciani, and reproaches him with having adorned himself with the property of the Notary of Lentini, as the crow in the fable did with the feathers of the other birds; in other words, he reproaches him with servile imitation. Dante da Majano, who coarsely scoffed at the youthful Dante Alighieri when he sent his first sonnet to the famous poets, was, in his turn, on a similar occasion (when he had sung of a vision, and invited poets to interpret it for him) derided by Guido Orlandi, a poet who, at any rate in part, favoured the new hostile literary movement.

Before leaving these first attempts at a more original style of poetry, we have still to consider a group of poems which are distinguished from those that have hitherto been treated by a powerful realism. In a song by Compagnetto da Prato: "Per lo marito c' ò rio," a wife complains of her bad husband, and rejoices at the revenge she is about to take on him. Here we have the reverse of that world of chivalry which was usually presented in the poems, and find ourselves in the lower regions of every-day life, from which the subjects

of the novels and *fabliaux* of the Middle Ages are drawn. Instead of the ordinary general type of the jealous man who disturbs the lovers, we have here really the bad husband, who quarrels with his wife and beats her. Love's reward is no longer gained by prayers and sighs, by service and perseverance, but the wife grants her lover's request, because she is angry with her husband. He has reproached her with infidelity without cause: now she wishes to punish him and to make his suspicions come true. The conventional poetry often complains of the spy who overhears the love secret, the *lusingatore*. This figure here assumes the vulgar form of the old neighbour, who watches the doings of the young couple with looks full of venom:

> Drudo mio, a te mi richiamo
> D'una vecchia c' ò a vicina,
> Ch' ella s' è accorta ch' io t' amo,
> Del suo mal dir no rifina.[1]

A second poem of Compagnetto da Prato—"L'amor fa una donna amare," treats of a girl who, burning with love, cannot overcome her desires. She lays aside all sense of shame, and sends for her lover, who is not slow in acceding to her request. A dialogue ensues—a favourite form of poetry. They are alone in the chamber. Her desires are of a very definite nature, and she suffers no digressions. He is to act, and not to ask any questions: surely he knows why she has sent for him. What a contrast to the abstract feminine ideal of the chivalrous poetry is formed by this frank expression of a sensual passion!

Two anonymous poems have the same character as the one just mentioned; they were formerly attributed, without sufficient reason, to Rugieri Pugliese and to Frederick II. It is difficult to determine with certainty whether they were composed by Southern or by Tuscan poets; the latter supposition appears to me the more probable. In the first poem, "L'altro ier fui in parlamento," a girl addresses her lover and bewails her lot, saying her father intends marrying her to another. She begs him to protect her from this fate,

[1] My love, I must complain to you of an old woman, a neighbour of mine, for she has noticed that I love you, and does not end with her evil words.

but he consoles her and exhorts her calmly to marry the man she hates, as so many others did, seeing that this would not prevent them from continuing to love each other and to be happy:

Assai donne mariti ànno
Che da lor son forte odiati;
De' be' sembianti lor danno,
Però non son di più amati.
Così voglio che tu faccia,
Ed averai molta gioia. . . .[1]

In the second poem, "Di dolor mi convien cantare," the situation is not clear, because three verses have been omitted from the second stanza, owing to a mistake of the scribe. The main portion, however, is again devoted to a wife's complaint concerning her husband, very similar to the one in Compagnetto's first poem. She desires his death; she will then lament his loss before the world; but in her heart she will rejoice, and praise God for having set her free.

In Provençal, and especially in Old French lyrical poetry, we meet with similar realistic examples by the side of the conventional abstract poems. The court poetry moved in an unreal, artificial world; and what was hidden behind this world is shown by the satires and *tenzoni* of the troubadours that are often so severe. This veil of conventionalism was at times rent asunder by the poets themselves, who disclosed the lower sphere of reality—that of the husbands who quarrel with their wives, beat them, and scold them; that of the wives who are dissatisfied with their husbands, and yield to their lovers. Of this class there are many among the old French romances, the one beginning, "Un petit devant le jour," especially, showing many points of resemblance with the fourth of the above-mentioned Italian songs: here the poet reproduces a dialogue between a knight and his mistress, who had been imprisoned in a tower by her jealous husband. In a Provençal poem, beginning, "S' anc fui belha ni prezada," a lady inveighs against her bad husband, who was given her on

[1] Many women have husbands, who are very much hated by them; they show them a fair mien, but they are none the more loved for that. Thus do I wish that thou shouldst do, and thou wilt have much joy. . . .

account of his wealth, and consoles herself with the thought that she has her friend, and the faithful watchman who shields their love from dangers. Similar sentiments are expressed in the charming ballad, "Coindeta sui, si cum n'ai greu martire." Considering how closely the Italians were acquainted with the literature of their western neighbours, it may be admitted that they were indebted to them also for the idea of treating poetically such ordinary subjects of every-day life. There is, however, no proof of this imitation in individual cases; such proof is, indeed, out of the question, for, as Tobler has pertinently remarked,[1] "the only lesson that could be learned from these (models) was the art of opening one's eyes to those things that were before one's eyes; but the things themselves differed in the two countries." Since the conditions differed in reality, the poetry that was engaged in representing them assumed a character totally different from that of its models.

A very similar state of things existed with regard to a certain resemblance with the Provençal and French pastoral poetry. In the case of the "Rosa fresca" we decided against such an influence; but it can certainly be traced in two Tuscan poems, in the dialogue of the *gemma leziosa*, which has already been mentioned (here the appellation *villanella* proves that the lover is addressing a peasant girl), and in an anonymous poem, "Part' io mi calcava," which has often, without reason, been ascribed to the same Ciacco dell' Anguillaia. In the former the situation is very similar, but the spirit in which the persons speak is different. In the latter the poet, as so often in the pastorals, tells of a ride during which he has overheard a conversation. But there the similarity ends, in this case also; it is limited to the outward form. The subject-matter of the dialogue and of the entire poem is different to anything that may be found in the French pastorals; on the other hand, it is frequently met with in Italian popular songs. A country girl complains that no one gives her a husband, and her mother scolds her for her boldness. A popular ballad, probably of Bolognese origin, which treats of this subject, and which will be dealt with farther on, has come down to us from the thirteenth century.

[1] "Jenaer Literaturzeitung," 1878, p. 669.

IV

GUIDO GUINICELLI OF BOLOGNA

IN Tuscany the poetry had undergone a gradual change through contact with popular poetry, or, at any rate, with popular sentiment. But the further development of Italian literature cannot be primarily traced back to the people, the new school which Dante set against the old is not the direct continuation of the popular realistic tendency. The artificial poets sought their inspiration not in the simplicity and freshness of nature, but in the profundity and deep significance of their ideas. Learning is the distinctive feature of the new school. There now arose in Italy a period of growing zeal for scientific studies; the writings of Aristotle had become more generally known through the translation made at the command of Frederick II.; and philosophical studies, hitherto less favoured than the practical sciences, were now cultivated with enthusiasm, and were, indeed, recognised at the famous old University of Bologna on an equal footing with jurisprudence and grammar. In Bologna, too, the *dolce stil nuovo* took its rise, founded by Guido Guinicelli, whom Dante called his father, and the father of the best love-poets:

> Il padre
> Mio e degli altri miei miglior, che mai
> Rime d' amore usâr dolci e leggiadre.

Guido Guinicelli, of the noble family of the Principi, is mentioned in documents from the year 1266, later on, with the title of *judex*, that is, skilled in jurisprudence. Like so many others, he suffered severely from the internal struggles of his native city; in 1247, when the Ghibelline party of the Lambertazzi, to which his family belonged, were driven out, he, too, was banished. It is not known whether he went to Faenza, in common with the majority of the exiles, or where

he settled; he died young in 1276. That is all that is known of the poet's life, but it is sufficient to enable us to determine the period of his literary activity. He himself had at first followed the manner of the Sicilians, and the majority of his poems show no marked difference from those of the Southern court poets; we find in his works the same commonplaces, the same emptiness and monotony, the same images and similes. He also attempted the essentially Provençal artifice of obscure speech together with the empty triflings of the *rime equivoche* in the canzone, "Lo fin pregio avanzato." During that period he even acknowledged himself to be a disciple of the famous Master Guittone of Arezzo, sent him one of his poems for criticism and improvement, addressed him in the accompanying sonnet, "O caro padre meo," and assured him that he regarded him alone as master in that art. Hence, if Dante, when he eulogised Guido so much, was considering all his poems without distinction, his judgment would be incomprehensible; however, in speaking thus, he was probably thinking of the famous canzone, "Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore," of several sonnets such as "Io vo' del ver la mia donna laudare," perhaps also of the song quoted by him ("De El. Vulg." ii. 6), "Tegno di folle impresa allo ver dire," with the beautiful words in praise of the lady's beneficent influence, and possibly, too, of other poems now lost. The canzoni in the conventional manner, and the panegyric of Guittone, obviously belong to an earlier period of Guido's life, after which he went his own way. This change in his poetry took place under the influence of science. Philosophy, which in that age, when Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura were teaching, had again come to be regarded with favour, penetrated even into poetry, which drew from it its subject-matter, and even the manner of its exposition. The canzone of "Amore e cor gentile" begins, as it were, with a philosophical thesis, to the effect that Amore takes its place only in a noble heart, in a heart filled with virtue and exalted feelings, and this proposition is then illustrated by a series of comparisons.

The question as to the nature, origin and influence of Amore was an old one; it had already occupied the Provençals, and, later on, the Italians had treated it very frequently and

with special predilection. But the solution had always been the same, one of those trivialities which one invariably imitated from the other. Love, it was said, springs from seeing and pleasing, the image of beauty penetrates through the eyes into the soul, takes root in the heart and occupies the thoughts—which is nothing but a superficial statement, describing the subject without fathoming it. In Guido's canzone, an entirely new conception takes the place of this well-worn succession of phrases. Love seeks its place in the noble heart, as the bird in the foliage; nobility of heart and love are one and inseparable as the sun and its splendour; as the star imparts its magic power to the jewel when the sun has purified it from all gross matter, in the same way the image of the beloved lady enflames the heart, which nature has created noble and pure; and, as fire by water, so, too, every impure feeling is extinguished by the contact of love; the sentiment inspired by the loved lady shall fill him who is her devoted slave, even as the power of the Deity is transmitted into the heavenly intelligences.—To such a degree has the conception of love changed; the earthly passion has become transfigured, and has been brought into contact with the sublimest ideas known to man; it is a philosophical conception of love, and the similes that serve to illustrate and to explain it in so elaborate and diversified a manner, show no traces of the old repertory:

> Ferre lo Sole il fango tutto 'l giorno,
> Vile riman, nè il Sol perde calore;
> Dice uomo altier: gentil per schiatta torno;
> Lui sembro al fango, al Sol gentil valore. [1]

Here we plainly see the thinker who desires his image to be significant and expressive, though sometimes losing sight of the beautiful. To the old school this departure from the ordinary manner appeared to be affectation, and this

[1] The sun strikes the mire the whole day, it remains vile, and the sun loses no warmth; a haughty man says: "I am noble through my race;" him I compare with the mire, and noble worth with the sun.—A fourteenth century collection of maxims, the "Fiore di Virtù," chap. xxxvii., quotes the sentence: Il sole sta in su lo fango, e non se gliene appicca, e della gentilezza che presta non se n' ha se non lo nome—as a saying of Aristotle, without doubt wrongly.

energetic brevity intentional obscurity, to which, it is true, it led soon enough. These accusations, together with that of artistic incapacity, were made by Buonagiunta of Lucca in a sonnet against Guido, who, however, replied to the pretentious criticism in cold and haughty words of remonstrance—"Uomo ch' è saggio non corre leggiero."

And so this school is distinguished from the old by its endeavour to attain a greater depth of thought, by an inincrease of vigour and a fresh earnestness. Amore and Madonna remain abstractions, but they are imbued with a new significance. Madonna is still the sum of all perfection; but, at the same time, she becomes a symbol, the incarnation of something more exalted. The love inspired by her passes beyond her towards virtue, to the highest good; the chivalrous love of the Provençals has become spiritual love. A symbolical and allegorical character is imparted to poetry, whose real aim gradually comes to be the expression of philosophic truth, shrouded in the beautiful veil of the image, as Dante has defined it. This introduction of science is not in itself a poetic element, but the new subject-matter stands in inner relation to the personality of the poet, and is not merely adopted from without; the scientific symbolism does away with the old well-worn phrases, and in this way free rein is again given from time to time to passion. This constitutes the main point of difference from the poetry of Guittone. Guittone moralised and syllogised, and remained dry and prosaic all the time. Love and learning, thought and imagination, were not yet united as in the works of the new school. He gave nothing but the bald truth, without the beautiful veil. The poetical imagery and warmth of feeling were wanting, as we find them in Guido Guinicelli; for example, at the close of his famous canzone, the most perfect piece of his that we possess, God reproaches the soul with having likened its earthly love to heavenly things, and it excuses itself in the following terms:

> Donna, Dio mi dirà, che presumisti?
> Siando l' alma mia a lui davanti:
> Lo ciel passasti e fino a me venisti,
> E desti in vano amor me per sembianti;
> Ch' a me convien la laude
> E alla Reina del regname degno,
> Per cui cessa ogni fraude.

Dir li potrò : Tenea d'angel sembianza
Che fosse del tuo regno ;
Non mi fue fallo, s' io le puosi amanza.[1]

This is the kind of passage in which Dante recognised a kindred spirit and the "sweet new style" which he adopted. The loftiness of thought and the genuine enthusiasm in Guido's poems could not fail to attract him. The well-known canzone inspired him in one of his own on nobility, and in a sonnet ("Amore e cor gentil") in which he calls his predecessor the "Wise." Reminiscences from the same piece occur also in the "Commedia." In a sonnet that treats a favourite theme, the salutary effect of the sight of the beloved lady, Guido approaches very closely the style of his great admirer :

Passa per via sì adorna e sì gentile,
Ch' abbassa orgoglio a cui dona salute,
E fa' l di nostra fe', se non la crede.
E non la può appressar uom che sia vile ;
Ancor ve ne dirò maggior virtute :
Null' uom può mal pensar, finchè la vede.[2]

These verses Dante undoubtedly had in mind when he said in the canzone "Donne ch' avete intelleto d'amore" :

Ancor le ha Dio per maggior grazia dato,
Che non può mal finir chi le ha parlato.[3]

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[1] "Woman," God will say to me, "what hast thou presumed to do?" (when my soul is before him). "Thou hast passed through the heavens, and art come unto me, and, in thy vain love, didst take me for likeness. To me is due the praise, and to the Queen of the worthy realm through whom all fraud has an end." I shall be able to say to him : "She resembled an angel, that might be a member of thy kingdom ; and so I did no wrong, in setting my love on her."—The fourth verse has often been misunderstood. In his enthusiasm the poet took God himself as an image for the object of his love. This boldness he feels himself bound to justify, and his justification consists in the loftiness and purity of his love. This is no earthly passion ; it is the reflection of heavenly beauty in his belovèd that enthrals him.

[2] She goes her way so fair and noble, that she lowers the pride of him whom she greets, and makes him of our faith, if he did not believe in it (before). And a man who is vile cannot approach her. A greater virtue still I shall tell you of her : no man can think evil, while he beholds her.

[3] A still greater grace has God conferred on her : he who has spoken to her cannot come to a bad end.

In Bologna itself there are very few traces of a continuation of Guido Guinicelli's artistic aspirations. On that account Casini altogether refused to admit that there had been a Bolognese school; but it must not be forgotten that among the three Bolognese poets, whom Dante eulogises in addition to Guinicelli, there is one of whom we know nothing at all, while of another scarcely anything has come down to us. The former is Guido Ghisilieri, probably identical with a Guido di Upizzino Ghisilieri, who is mentioned in documents, and was born about the year 1244. Fabrizio or Fabruzzo de' Lambertazzi, who was banished with his family in 1274, like Guinicelli, and is named among the heads of the banished party as late as the year 1294, is the author of an extant moralising sonnet, which contains a reflection to the effect that the judgment of the world is based only on results and not on the wisdom or foolishness of actions. Better known to us is Onesto of Bologna, of whom we have two canzoni, twenty-three sonnets and a ballad. He is a later poet; for whilst he has a polemic with Guittone in a sonnet, yet he directs others to Cino da Pistoja. Guido's influence is manifest in his poems, though it is somewhat superficial. In the one canzone, which is, as far as it has come down to us, quite unintelligible, we find again the thought of Guinicelli:

> Quand' egli appar, Amor prende suo loco
> Sendo deliberato, non dimora
> In cor che sia di gentilezza fora.[1]

This idea afterwards became the dogma, as it were, of the school, by which its disciples may be recognised. A sonnet, "L'anima è criatura virtuata," gives a definition of the soul, developed according to the regular scholastic method.

It was in Florence that Guido's learned poetry found its greatest adherents, those that did not merely adopt the new style (*l'uso moderno*), but also perfected it. Among these were Guido Cavalcanti and Dante Alighieri.

It is a very interesting phenomenon, and one that we shall find again among the Florentine followers of Guido Guinicelli, that the originator of so severe and lofty a style

[1] When it appears, Love takes its place with deliberation, it remains not in a heart that is without nobility.

did not disdain, at times, in a jocose and scoffing vein, to descend to a completely realistic manner. We have two sonnets of this kind by him, the one, concerning the Lucia with the many-coloured cowl, at sight of whom his heart quivers more violently than a serpent's head that has been hacked off, so that he longs to kiss her mouth and both her eyes of flame—a delightful expression of natural feeling; the other, a very drastic invective against a malignant old woman, on whose head he heaps every possible curse:

Diavol te levi, vecchia rabbiosa,
E sturbigion te fera in su la testa.[1]

Here, then, the learned poet, too, approaches the style of popular poetry.

A poetry of the people existed in Bologna as well as in other places, together with artificial poetry; just in this city, indeed, it had a better fate than in Tuscany, and several remnants of some importance have come down to us. The Bolognese notaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries often diverted and amused themselves by writing down, in the collections of public records, Italian songs, which introduce into the midst of Latin legal documents, with their heavy formal jargon, an echo of the loves and pleasures of the gay and joyous world. In Italy the law was always glad to ally itself with poetry, as may be seen from the many poets of those days who were lawyers, judges and notaries. The majority of the poems in question belong to the artificial category, and many of them are known to us from other sources; but others are popular in their general character, and also in the strongly idiomatic colouring of the language. From the record we learn at the same time the period in which they were current. A document of this kind, dated 1286, contains the fragment of a ballad beginning with the words "Partite, amore, a deo." It is the farewell of two lovers in the early morning, as we find it depicted in the Provençal *Albas* and in the German *Tagelieder*. The words of the girl, who warns her lover that it is time to depart, are tender in the intensity of their passion: "Kiss me once again, and then go":

[1] May the devil take you, wrathful old woman, and may confusion strike thee on the head.

Or me bassa, oclo meo,
E tosto sia l' andata.

In a record of the year 1305, we have the little song of the nightingale, so simple in its contents. The boy's little bird has flown away out of its cage; he weeps and goes into the wood; he hears it sing and begs it to come back. The form of the piece is entirely in keeping—short verses of six syllables, tripping childishly along. This, too, is probably only a fragment. It is an innocent cry of nature, pleasing and touching by its very simplicity, and by the impression it conveys. But just on that very account it is impossible to analyse it.

Quite different in character are three poems from a record of the year 1282, all of them ballads, like the pieces already mentioned. Here we have a coarse and vulgar humour, intended to excite the laughter of a less refined public. In them are described in the crudest way the adventures of two female gossips, their obscene actions and discourse. In the second poem two sisters-in-law abuse each other before their neighbours. They manage to give each other the worst possible character, but when one of them comes to touch dangerous ground, the other becomes meek and makes promises on condition that the secret should be kept, whereupon they make it up again, in order to be able to deceive their husbands conjointly. The third ballad gives us a dialogue between a daughter who wishes to marry a young fellow, and her mother who refuses to give her consent. But the scene is here sketched far more coarsely than in the Tuscan song, "Per Arno mi cavalcava." The mother and daughter hurl curses at each other; the girl does not yield in spite of the old woman's words of warning, and shows no trace of modesty in the expression of her desires.

A lengthy political poem, the "Serventese dei Geremei e Lambertazzi," narrates the same events as were of such moment in the lives of Guido Guinicelli and of Fabrizio Lambertazzi, the struggles of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Bologna, the exile of the latter in 1274 and 1280, and the betrayal of the town of Faenza, where they had taken refuge, to the Guelphs of Bologna, through the instrumentality of Tibaldello (1281). The number of details and of names shows that the poem must have been composed soon after

the occurrence of the events. It may have been intended to be publicly recited before the people; for its tone is that of the roving minstrels, the exposition is irregular and lacking all art, there are many idioms in the language, and we frequently find assonance in the place of rhyme. The metrical form is the same as came to be regularly used later on for productions of this kind, the *serventese*. The characteristic trait of this form was the continuous concatenation of the rhymes, as opposed to division into stanzas; at the end or in the middle of each section (*copula*), the rhyme was started, which was then taken up and continued by the succeeding *copula*. In the earlier periods, the poem was always constructed in such a way, that a *copula* of three or four long verses (consisting of eleven or of seven syllables), which rhymed together, was followed by a shorter one (the *coda*, consisting of five or four syllables), which gave the rhyme to the next division; and this is also the form of the Bolognese poem (AAAbBBBcC . . .). The name of *Serventese*, therefore, did not mean the same thing in Italy, where it referred to metrical peculiarities, as in Provençal literature, though it was probably derived from the latter. The subject-matter could be of various kinds: thus, one of the Bolognese records contains a love *serventese*. However, the form was employed, by preference, for narrative, moralising and political pieces, for which purpose the uninterrupted succession of verses, without any strongly marked divisions into stanzas, was especially convenient. And so, because it so often resembled a moralising sermon, the other name, *Sermintese*, which was usual in the fourteenth century, may have been formed by popular etymology, as also the form *Sermontese*, employed by the old writer on metre, Antonio da Tempo. Antonio declared it to be a popular class of poetry, and Francesco da Barberino, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, treated it contemptuously as minstrels' poetry, which was unknown to the art poets.

V

THE FRENCH CHIVALROUS POETRY IN NORTHERN ITALY

LITERATURE does not show a uniform development from the outset: it begins in different places and in different ways. Before the literature of a single province can attain the supremacy, subject the others to itself, and thus become the general literature of the whole country, it is local in character. The first attempts at poetical composition in the Italian language we found in the South and, soon after, poetry was written in the Centre of the peninsula, where it underwent a considerable transformation. In the North, the influence of the adjoining country was stronger, as we saw quite at the beginning, and not merely the manner, but also the language of Provençal poetry was adopted. In this tongue poetry continued to be written throughout the whole of the thirteenth century, so that it is plain that lyrical court poetry composed in Italian could not spread in these parts. Dante names only Ildebrandino of Padua and Gotto of Mantua as poets who employed the *vulgare illustre* in Upper Italy, and he says that nobody composed poetry in Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. This may be correct: for the Matulino of Ferrara, whom Salimbene mentions as the author of canzoni and *serventesi*, was probably a writer of popular poetry. The titles of the pieces in the old collections of songs are not accompanied by any names which would point with certainty to Upper Italy. In a legal document, however, dated December 23, 1277, is preserved a poem in the Venetian dialect, the so-called "Lament of the Paduan lady, whose husband is away on a Crusade." This title, which was invented by the editor, does not correspond, at any rate, exactly to the subject-matter, which has been variously interpreted; it is perhaps best to admit that the real context of this curious piece of

poetry is not clear. It is true that it begins with a lament of the lady for the absence of her husband on a crusade and with the assurance of her fidelity to him, by way of protest against a *dona Frixa*, who has exhorted her to be cheerful and not to grieve. Then we are told how the other women gave her right, how the husband returned, and how they lived together in perfect love and accord. Thereupon the pilgrim manifests his approval, and continues with the praise of his lady and with the expression of the hope that he will finally win her love, though bewailing, at the same time, his present grief. How does this close fit in with what has gone before? Is it really necessary to assume that all this is spoken by the pilgrim, as has been thought? In other words, does he himself desire to disturb that conjugal fidelity to which he gives such high praise? The troubadours love married women; but they do not sing in praise of their marriage. Or is the lady whom the pilgrim loves in no way identical with the one whose fidelity he eulogises, and does he introduce her conjugal happiness only as an example of what he hopes for himself? In the present condition of the poem, it is impossible to decide this question; perhaps a beginning is missing, which explained these points. The love lament of the pilgrim at the close perhaps stands alone among the poetical efforts of Northern Italy known to us in its closer similarity to the lyrical court poetry. In its earlier portion, however, the poem is popular and original, and the love of a husband and wife who are fondly attached to each other—a theme which it would be difficult to find again in the poetry of those times—is treated in a simple, natural, and engaging manner.

But there was another literature, whose influence checked the free development of the national literature in Northern Italy—namely, that of France. This was scarcely less thought of and scarcely less widely spread in the Middle Ages than in modern times. The French epics and romances were read and admired throughout the whole of Europe; the events they narrated, the legendary heroes they celebrated, were often proverbial on all men's tongues. In Italy we find not only that the French originals were translated and imitated, but also that not a few of the authors in composing their works preferred the foreign idiom to

their own, because it appeared to them better adapted for literary use. Brunetto Latini wrote his encyclopædia, the "Trésor," in French, because French, as he says, was a more pleasing (*plus delitaubles*) language, and more generally diffused, than the others. Martino da Canale makes use of it in his Venetian Chronicle, and gives exactly the same reason for doing so, even using the identical word *delitable*, and this is again employed by Dante, when he, in weighing the advantages of the different vulgar tongues one against the other, says ("De Vulg. El.," i. 10) that to the *langue d'oil* belongs, *propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem*, everything that is composed in prose, namely, the translation of the Bible, the deeds of the Trojans and Romans, the beautiful adventures of King Arthur, and much else, both narrative and didactic in character. This opinion, which we find so frequently expressed in almost identical terms, must therefore have been very general and on everyone's lip. But not alone for prose, but for the romances of chivalry in general, French was considered the proper language, and was thus described by the old Provençal grammarian, Raimon Vidal. In the seventies of the thirteenth century, Rusticiano of Pisa composed in French prose a long-winded and very clumsy compilation of stories of the Round Table, and it was this same Rusticiano who, in the year 1298, whilst a prisoner in Genoa, wrote down in French, at the author's dictation, the narrative of Marco Polo's voyages and travels. But the French poetry of chivalry, especially that of the Carolingian cycle, brought forth on Italian soil a large progeny, of which the manuscripts of the Library of St. Mark in Venice have preserved numerous remnants. Some of those are, it is true, only transcriptions of poems written in France, which the copyist distorted by introducing idioms of his dialect, as in the case of the "Aliscans" and "Aspremont," or the additions are of little account, as in the "Gui de Nanteuil," the introduction of which, about one thousand verses in length, was composed by the Italian scribe. But several others of these poems are new productions, being merely related to French models, or even entirely original; an instance of both combined we have in the compilation of narratives of the Carolingian cycle in the French MS. XIII. of the Library of St. Mark, and an almost unique

example of the latter in the "Entrée de Spagne" (MS. XXI.) and in the so-called "Prise de Pampelune" (MS. V.). This is, therefore, a regular Franco-Italian literature—French epics composed by Italians.

The subject-matter of the "Entrée de Spagne" and of the "Prise de Pampelune," namely the conquest of Spain before the treachery of Roncesvalles, is not treated by any other of the Old French poems that have come down to us; they would therefore fill up a gap in the poetical versions of the legend of Charlemagne, if they really went back to French *chansons de geste*. But this is very doubtful. The author of the "Entrée" narrates, that Archbishop Turpin appeared to him in a dream, and asked him to make a rhymed version of his chronicle, and in the beginning of his poem, he really follows the narrative of the Pseudo-Turpin. Further on, he declares that he has drawn also from Jean of Navarra and from Gautier of Aragon, who are quite unknown, and whom he must have invented, in order to inspire his public with respect for his learning. Finally, he himself admits that one portion of his work, and that the most important, is his own invention. He makes use of it in order to form a connecting link with the long siege of Pampelona and with Roland's quarrel with the Emperor. Roland has, without the knowledge of his uncle, undertaken an expedition against Nobles and conquered the town; in spite of this successful result, Charles is so incensed, that he boxes his ears on his return. Roland leaves the camp in a rage, and the adventures he now meets with in distant parts supply the author with a subject which enables him to display his own gifts of imagination or to repeat trite commonplaces that were already in use. That is to say, they are practically occurrences narrated in later French *chansons* of the different Carolingian heroes, as described especially in the "Huon de Bordeaux"—strange voyages and adventures, showing the influence of the romances of the Round Table, and of the epics of the crusades. Roland goes to the East, and, under an assumed name, defends a Saracen princess, Diones, the daughter of the King of Persia, against an odious wooer, King Malquidant, who threatens her; he then converts the whole of the Persian Sultan's house to Christianity, takes his son Samson as a companion, visits the.

holy places of Palestine, and starts on his homeward journey. On the way he is thrown on a desert coast, and learns from the hermit Samson, with whom he is dwelling, the tidings which had been revealed to the holy man by an angel, that he has still seven years to live, that he will conquer and then be slain by treachery. Finally he returns to Charles's army, just as all the nobles are on the point of leaving the service of the Emperor. The reconciliation follows and the struggle against the Saracens continues.—The influence of the entire poem on the subsequent shaping of the literature of chivalry in Italy was very great; above all, it was this romantic episode that could not fail to give the greatest pleasure, and it became the model for many of the later poems and romances, in which the hero is glorified in a similar way. One trait in the "Entrée," which reveals the nationality of the author, is the prominence given to Roland's relations with Italy: at the beginning of the war he went with Oliver to Rome, and there received from the Pope an army of twenty thousand champions of the Church, whom he then, as senator of Rome, leads to battle.

The "Prise de Pampelune" was so called by Michelant, but its title is not particularly appropriate; the capture of Pampelona forms the subject only of the beginning of the work, and that is no longer extant. At the place where the poem now commences the town is already taken, and expeditions against Estella, Cordova (*Cordes*), and other cities follow; the work would, therefore, be more fitly called "The Conquest of Spain," and it is, as we shall see, in reality nothing but the fragment of a continuation of the "Entrée." The narrative differs from the majority of the *chansons de geste* as also from the fairly vivacious "Entrée," by its lack of imagination and by a certain dryness that recalls the style of the chronicles; the numerous descriptions of battles, which are developed with a kind of strategical precision, and with frequent and exact notification of the number of the troops (in place of the general exaggerations of the old *chansons de geste*, the uninterrupted course of the action, without any break in and resumption of the thread, as was usual in the popular poetry, all show a tendency towards the style of historical narrative, so striking later on in the "Reali di Francia" and in similar

books; in the "Prise," as in these, one battle regularly succeeds the other, and in between come the marches, the surrenders of the towns, then massacres or the wholesale baptism of the conquered Saracens. Here again the patriotism of the Lombard author shows itself in the important *rôle* assigned to Desirier (Desiderius), whereas the poems that originated in France make no mention of any part taken by him in the war in Spain. Here he is one of Charles's truest and bravest vassals; Pampelona was conquered owing to his skill, and on many other occasions he contributes largely towards the successful result of the most important events. When he is told to ask the Emperor for a favour, he demands, in the place of land and people, only privileges for his Lombards, that none of them should ever become slaves, and that everyone might, without being noble, be able to become a knight (v. 341, *sqq.*):

Le don que je vous quier, oiant la baronie,
Est que frans soient sempre tous ceus de Lombardie :
Chi en comprast aucun, tantost perde la vie ;
E che cescun Lombard, bien qu'il n'ait gentilie
Che remise li soit de sa ancesorie,
Puise estre civaler, s'il a pur monantie
Qu'il puise mantenir à honour civalerie.
E si veul che chescun Lombard sens vilenie
Puise sempre portier çainte la spee forbie
Devant les empereres ; qui veut en ait envie.
Autre don ne vous quier ne autre segnorie.

This is granted to him. Charles the Great says to Naime that it is foolishness to ask so little. But his wise counsellor replies, that Desiderius is right and that he has made the noblest demand; at the same time he celebrates Lombardy, the King's land, as the fairest of all, so that he had no need of any other.

As the second poem continues the action of the first, after an interruption, so, too, the same persons appear in both, with the same character and in the same circumstances; some of them do not occur elsewhere in the literature of the *chansons de geste*, especially Isorié, the son of Malceris of Navarre, and Samson, the son of the King of Persia, who is received among the twelve peers and who maintains his place in the later Italian poetry of

chivalry. Of great interest, especially, is the figure of Estout, who is of but small importance in the French epics, but who now plays a more prominent part and is more distinctly characterised. Estout is a wag; his clumsy wit does not spare even the Emperor, who, together with the barons, and especially his truly loved friend, Roland, are fond of laughing at his jokes. He takes the town of Toletele by a stratagem ("Prise," 4842, *sqq.*) deceiving the inhabitants by having the flag of the enemy carried before him, after their standard-bearer had been killed. Then he permits himself a practical joke, orders all the draw-bridges to be closed, and refuses admission to the Christian army. Charlemagne says (5078, *sqq.*):

> . . . "Biens sire Hestous, pour amour vous prion
> Che vous nous hostaliés dedens vetre maison."
> "Ne ferai," dist le duc, "parlé avés en perdon.
> Alés vous aoberzier par delez cil boison;
> Car ci dens ne entreriés, bien le vous afion."
> Iluec estoit Roland qui rioit à fuson
> Des paroles Hestous. . . .

By dint of friendly words and by invoking the love he had inspired, Roland succeeds in persuading the irreverent practical joker to admit the Emperor after all. In the case of dangerous exploits Estout is always distrustful, and warns his companions, without, however, himself lacking pluck and courage. Thus we have in this mingling of chivalry, foolishness and levity, an original semi-comical character, who reappears in almost exactly the same shape in the Tuscan popular poems, and supplied Bojardo, and finally Ariosto, with the fundamental traits for their immortal type of Astolfo. And another point here again proves the great importance of these two Franco-Italian poems for the later Italian chivalrous literature. In the latter Astolfo is always an Englishman, whereas he was Duke of Langres in the French legend. This change of nationality arose from a misunderstanding on the part of the author of the "Entrée." At the beginning he calls his Estout, quite correctly, *de Lengres* and *Lengrois*; but then also *de Lengles* and *Lenglois*, which he finally changed into *l'Englois*, *Englois*, without noticing the great difference. Even in the "Prise" Estout never occurs otherwise than as an Englishman.

The author of the "Entrée" describes himself in one passage as a Paduan, but says that he does not wish to give his name. It was, however, thought, that he had been inconsistent, since a certain Nicholas alludes to himself by name in the last lines of the MS. XXI.; and so the "Entrée de Spagne" was considered to be the work of one Nicholas of Padua, and then L. Gautier assumed that the "Prise" was also by him. This view was adopted by G. Paris. But subsequently Gautier withdrew his former conjecture, and it was proved, especially by P. Meyer, that both the poems could not be from the same pen, owing to considerable differences in exposition, metre, and language. An investigation of A. Thomas finally cleared up the matter. The author of the "Entrée" really did not name himself, and we, therefore, know nothing about him except that he was a Paduan. On the other hand, the Nicholas who appears in the last lines is not identical with this Paduan, but another poet, who composed a sequel, as the words themselves clearly show. To this sequel, and not to the "Entrée," belong the last one hundred and thirty-one verses in the manuscript, and, after a long interruption, the "Prise de Pampelune" also; what was contained in the gap is lost, or, at any rate, at present unknown. The great similarity, in spite of the numerous differences, is due to the fact that the writer of the sequel had the work of the Paduan before him, and endeavoured to continue it in the same manner. Thomas further makes it appear probable, that this author of the "Prise" is identical with the Nicholas of Verona of whom we have a still unpublished Franco-Italian poem on the Passion of Christ, and who himself says at the beginning of this poem, that he has narrated many stories in verse, and in the French language.

A third Franco-Italian poem, which is shorter, and which treats a subject that is otherwise unknown in Old French literature, belongs to quite a different legendary cycle, that of Troy; this is the "Roman d'Hector," or, as it is called in other MSS., the "Roman d'Hercules." It contains the story of a fight of Hector with Hercules, here depicted as a terrible giant, whom he kills, thus avenging the fate of Laomedon and Hesione. A different form is employed, in accordance with this new subject-matter. While the pro-

ductions corresponding to the *chansons de geste* are composed in the usual series of verses of ten and twelve syllables joined together by one rhyme, the "Hector" has verses of eight syllables rhyming in pairs like Benoît's "Roman de Troie," with which this narrative is connected; it was, as Joly remarked, a history of the youthful exploits of the hero—"Enfances d'Hector," such as were, in later times, often added, by way of introduction, to the famous *chansons de geste.*

The language of these three poems, as also of the work of Rusticiano of Pisa, is not pure French, but shows clear traces of the dialects of Northern Italy, for the most part of such a nature as to exclude the possibility of their having been introduced only by the copyists. Frequently words and terms of speech are employed, which are quite correct in Italian, but were never used in French; others have an Italian colouring in their phonetics. Words often undergo great changes, too, for the sake of the rhyme. And finally, the prosody is half Italian and half French in principle, inasmuch as all the vowels are subject to elision and synæresis, but not necessarily. As, moreover, this mingling of the Italian is due to the individual authors, it is natural that, in spite of so many affinities, there should also be linguistic differences in these works; it should be noted specially, that the "Prise" contains more Italian elements than the others.

The much discussed compilation of Franco-Italian poems in MS. XIII. of St. Mark's, which is defective at the beginning, comprises, in its present state, the "Bueve de Hanstone," which is divided into two parts through the intercalation of the story of Bertha of the large foot, or, as she is here called, with the large feet ("Berta de li gran pié"), then the youthful adventures of Charles the Great, here named "Karleto" (the "Mainet" of the French), "Milo" and "Bertha," two poems on Ogier the Dane, and finally, the "Macaire": it is therefore a cyclical compilation, such as we often find in the later chap-books, and probably written entirely by one man, to judge from the uniform character that runs through the whole. These, again, must not be regarded as poems that were merely taken over from the French; they are either transformed versions, that go back only to the oral traditions of the originals, or real additions and new inventions. To the latter category belongs especially, as has been

remarked, the story of Milo and Bertha. The French sources not only do not contain it, but are actually in contradiction with it; besides, the scene of the action is laid in Italy, and Roland, whose youth is here depicted, was in Italy always specially popular among the heroes of the Carolingian legend. In addition to this, an original trait of the whole compilation has been pointed out, which had a decisive influence on the subsequent formation of the legend of chivalry in Italy, namely, the union of all the traitors into one *geste* of the Maganzesi, which was eventually opposed by the loyal heroes, who were also amalgamated as it were into one family, that of Chiaramonte. The traitor was a typical figure of the *chansons de geste*; he appears everywhere, now under this, now under that name, as Ganelon, Hardré, Griffon, and so on. In France, too, this tendency to make all these felons descend from one family was already apparent, but it was in Italy that this unification of the evil principle first acquired its great importance and its general predominance, and in Italy also the name, which clung to them ever after, of those of Maganza (Mayence) first struck root. As G. Paris showed, this was caused by a confusion between Doon de Maience, the ancestor of Ganelon, but also of Renaut, and the entirely different traitor Doon de Maience in the "Bueve de Hanstone."

The Venetian compiler's mode of exposition is the clumsiest and baldest imaginable. He was obviously a minstrel of the lowest order, who, by his dullness and diffuseness, spoilt even fascinating themes, and such as were adapted to successful development. The formal structure of the works, based on the type of the verse of ten syllables, shows an extreme want of care, and is disfigured by an enormous number of errors. We see, therefore, how even writers of the people employed the foreign idiom for their productions; but this was, of course, mutilated by them in a curious manner. If the language of the "Entrée" is, in spite of this, still a kind of modified French, it is, at the same time, a completely barbarous jargon, in which continually the dialect penetrates into the strange language, the French words take Italian endings, and in which, finally, the necessities of the rhyme are the cause of quite extraordinary and impossible formations. In the "Berta," for example,

Pepin speaks as follows to those whom he intends sending away for the purpose of fetching his bride:

Qe un çubler qe è qui arivé
Por veoir questa cort e la nobilité
Tuto li son afaire el m'a dito e conté,
Qe in la dama no è nul falsité,
Salvo q'ela oit un poco grande li pé;
Nian por ço non vo' je qe stagé,
Qi la po avoir, qe no la demandé. [1]

Scarcely less barbarous than in this cyclical compilation are the form and language in the greater part of the Venetian "Song of Roland," in the MS. IV. of S. Mark's. As the subject-matter of this text is very closely related to that of the genuine Old French version in the Oxford MS., the marked difference in the expression must be due to the oral tradition of the French poem.

The linguistic corruption in this second category of literary monuments cannot be solely the work of copyists, any more than in the former collection, and the attempt to construct correct Old French out of the forms that have come down to us, made by Guessard with the "Macaire," was bound to fail in spite of the violence of the means employed. The original texts must have resembled exactly or very closely the ones we now possess. On the other hand, the importance of this fact has been much exaggerated. Bartoli thought he detected the germs of a new language, which was on the point of developing out of the mingling of French with the North Italian dialects. But the phenomenon was certainly far more individual; hence the variety of the dialectical elements in the single works, according to the culture of the writer, while the similarity of certain traits is accounted for by the fact that the dialects thus exerting their influence were in certain cases identical. No one, not even Bartoli, believes that such a language was ever spoken. It was an artificial product, which had its origin in the assumption that the foreign idiom should necessarily be employed for a cer-

[1] For a minstrel, who has come here to see this court and the nobles, has told and related to me everything that concerns her, that there is no fault in the lady, except that her feet are somewhat large; nevertheless I do not wish you to abstain from asking for her, if she is to be had.

tain literary *genre*. In Northern Italy, in the thirteenth century, all lyrical poetry was written in Provençal, while the stories that came from France were retold in French. But the difference was that the lyrical writers were highly cultured court poets, who handled the *langue d'oc* in such a masterly manner that their verses can, from the point of view of language, be very rarely distinguished from those of the troubadours. The narrative writers, however, belonged to inferior classes of society, sometimes even to the body of the people, and, while they endeavoured to write French, the words in their hands assumed a more native form, exchanged their terminations for those usual in Italy, and, in cases where the French words and constructions did not appeal quickly enough to the memory, the Italian equivalents were put in their place. They imagined that they were thus writing French, and disfigured this language all the while with the idiom they spoke, in the same way as many, in the Middle Ages, thought they wrote excellent Latin, and, instead of this, produced nothing but popular Latin in Romance form.

At all events, the chivalrous literature that came from France had at that time penetrated deeply among the people; these variegated narratives of emperors and kings, of battles and victories, of wild Saracens, of conquered giants and liberated princesses, were well calculated to please the masses and to feed their mobile imagination, ever thirsting for novelty. There existed at this period wandering minstrels who recited their tales to the people in the streets, as in France, and this is proved, if proof were necessary, by the oft-quoted decree of the Commune of Bologna (of the year 1288)—"ut Cantatores Francigenarum in plateis Communis ad cantandum omnino morari non possint." Only it is not probable that the productions retailed in this manner to the populace were of the same kind as the Franco-Italian poems. It is true some have thought that the Italianising process we have noted in these was intended to make them more easily understood by the uneducated classes; but it cannot be taken for granted that the people in general possessed even such a knowledge of language as would enable them to comprehend this jargon at a first hearing. It is better to assume, as Pio Regna does, that for the public recitals of the street singers

a later form was employed, in which the French themes were clothed. This consisted of versions in the Venetian dialect, with certain, though much fainter, traces of the foreign idiom. While, then, in the real Franco-Italian literature, French forms the basis, and the dialectical Italian elements are of a secondary nature, these other poems show the contrary process, the Italian dialect forming the groundwork, and the French colouring being merely superficial. In the Venetian "Bovo d' Antona," we have, for example, the following (v. 170, *sqq.*):

> "Fiolo," disse Synibaldo, "porestu çivalçer
> Palafren o destrer? A San Simon voio ander;
> Che quelo me donà to per;
> Per quelo castelo so vassalo me faço clamer;
> El è ben trenta ani ch'el me l' à doner.
> Se a quel castelo te posso mener,
> Io farò guera po'a sta cité."
> Respoxe Bovolin: "Io porò bien çivalcer
> Destrer e cavalo chi me possa porter;
> Infin a San Simon averò ander."[1]

The form and style of narrative of this poem show the same clumsiness as the Franco-Italian productions in the MS. XIII.; still it is superior to these in rapidity and conciseness, and in its rough simplicity does not fail to make a certain impression on the reader.—The same idiomatic character is possessed by the scanty remnants of the versions that were made in Italy of the Animal Epic which was so popular in the Middle Ages. The "Rainardo e Lesangrino," contained in an Oxford MS., a fragment of eight hundred and fourteen very irregular verses, rhyming in pairs, and based on the type of the octosyllabic line, includes two branches of the story, the well-known accusation and defence of Renard at the court of King Noble, and an adventure with the goat, which Renard wishes to outwit—a contest in which Isengrin, as usual, comes off second best. Another

[1] "Son," said Synibaldo, "couldst thou ride on palfrey or steed? To San Simone I wish to go; for this castle thy father gave to me; owing to this castle, I let myself be called his vassal; it is quite thirty years ago since he gave it to me. If I can bring thee to this castle, I shall then wage war against this city." Bovolin replied: "I shall well be able to ride on war-steed or on horse that can carry me; as far as San Simone I shall ride."

version, discovered not long ago in the Archiepiscopal Library of Udine, appears to be complete in seven hundred and three verses, and narrates the same two stories. The contents of the two MSS. are identical also in point of detail, verses and groups of verses from the Oxford fragment recurring almost word for word in the other piece: one of the two versions must, therefore, be the original of the other, or both must go back to the same source. Pio Rajna assumes that this Venetian epic poetry, with a French colouring, of which only a few monuments are now known, was once very extensive, and that it was kept alive on the lips of the wandering minstrels, and forms the link between the Old French and the later Tuscan versions of the legends of chivalry.

The Franco-Italian literature covered a longer period. It probably began in the second half of the thirteenth century; but it is impossible to state with certainty whether any of the texts that have been preserved belong to this time. The "Entrée" and the "Prise" should probably be ascribed rather to the fourteenth century. At all events, the use of disfigured French for the chivalrous poetry of Northern Italy continued for a long time during this century. A MS. of the Turin library contains a poem on Huon d'Auvergne and his journey to Hell, whither he has been sent by Charles Martel, in order to obtain the tribute of Lucifer. It is in Italian, but exceedingly rough and irregular in form; frequently it makes no sense at all, and points to an original which was already not purely French, but Franco-Italian, and which an ignorant adaptor rendered verse by verse into his own dialect. Now, in this poem we find many traces of the "Divine Comedy"; the Franco-Italian original must therefore have belonged to a period subsequent to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. No less closely connected with Dante is another "Ugo d'Alvernia" in a Paduan MS., written in the Venetian dialect, with a few French elements, like the "Bovo" and and the "Rainardo"; in some passages, it is closely related to the Turin poem, but in others it shows marked differences, so that it probably goes back to a third version, likewise Franco-Italian. In the year 1358 Niccolò da Casola of Bologna wrote for the Princes of Este a long poem on the subject of "Attila," in barbarous French and quite in the style

of the popular epic. And, finally the latest product of the Franco-Italian literature is the prose romance of "Aquilon de Bavière," the only prose work of that kind dealing with a subject of the Carolingian legend, composed by Rafaele Marmora, probably a Veronese, between the years 1379-1407. The hero Aquilon, the fifth son of Duke Naime, and the story itself, were probably invented by the author. In the meantime, the Tuscan chivalrous poetry in stanzas of eight lines had already begun to flourish, and so the poem, as A. Thomas remarked, is a real anachronism. The author himself gave a further proof of this, by adding a number of Italian eight-line stanzas at the beginning and end.

In the same way, then, that lyric poetry in Italy had began in Provençal, narrative poetry began in French. But the latter appealed to a different public; it contained in itself more elements of vitality, and therefore marks not only the close of a literary development on foreign soil, but becomes at the same time the beginning of a new and original *genre*, which naturally required a long period in which to blossom forth fully from the old germs. The French legend of chivalry found connecting links in Italy, which facilitated the process of acclimatisation. Charles the Great was immensely popular. As the restorer of the Roman Empire he had come to be regarded by the Italians almost as one of themselves; he appeared as the representative of the Latin race as opposed to German traditions, and, according to the legend, he had also rebuilt Florence, destroyed by Attila or Totila. However, although the legend of chivalry lasted on, it had lost its old, original meaning; the spirit that had once created it, the ideal with which it had become bound up, no longer corresponded to the existing conditions, not even in France, where the period of the true epic had long passed. What still attracted the people in these stories, was not so much a deep patriotic and religious interest, as the great mass and variety of the events, the splendour of the personages introduced; to excite wonder and admiration, to satisfy the curiosity and delight in adventures—these were the aims of the narrator. This was no subject for epic treatment, if only for the reason that the legend was not national and had not grown on the native soil, but was imported; it could now produce nothing but minstrels' poems and

romances for the edification of the people. In this plain and modest form it lived on for almost two centuries, in order to reappear in the works of Pulei, Bojardo and Ariosto, imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance and changed in its very essence.

VI

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL POETRY IN NORTHERN ITALY

ITALY did not possess a national heroic poetry, with which literature mostly begins. This may be due to the disposition of the people, but perhaps, in a still greater degree, to its history and to the mode of feeling that was fostered by this history. Medieval Italy lacked a strong national feeling, the feeling of a national unity; it lacked great and powerful native princes, and general struggles against terrible foes, such as we find in France and in Spain. Moreover, the period during which the popular legends and the epic traditions were formed among other nations, was no heroic epoch for Italy. The dominion was in the hands of foreigners, and the great military deeds were in this country achieved by Lombards (before these had come to form part of the nation), by Franks, and by German Emperors; the Normans as victors and as conquerors of the Saracens, were Frenchmen and not yet Italians, and the traces they left in epic poetry are found in French literature. Nowhere do we see any Italian glory, any national pride, any national hero. Yet the Italians also had their heroic period. This was occupied with the struggles of the cities for their liberty, which are so full of poetical elements, of patriotism, energy, wild delight in warfare and barbarism, and with the bold naval battles of the Pisans, Genoese and Venetians. But in these enterprises the strength of the nation was not concentrated on one object, and the struggles were carried on on behalf of individual municipalities, and not for the sake of the fatherland in the wider sense. And this period of power and warlike spirit falls in a luminous and historic period, in which learned studies are recommenced, in which men's minds revert to antiquity, in which chronicles are written and no more legends are formed.

Just because there was a lack of native themes for narrative poetry, foreign ones had been so readily adopted. But these foreign themes, dealing with the legend of chivalry, were not based on the deeper foundations of the nation's manners and general aims: they served only to divert and to entertain. It is not here, in the street singers' rhymes concerning Charles and Roland and Oliver, that we shall have to seek the expression of the deep and serious interests of the time and people; this we shall find elsewhere, in the various versions of the theme which, being common to all Christian nations, could not fail to be equally popular with them all. Religious poetry occupied itself with the loftiest theme that can interest humanity, with the great question which, in a believing age, formed the incessant care of men's minds, the centre of moral and intellectual activity—the question of eternal salvation, of the soul's redemption, and of a future existence, compared with which the present earthly life appeared insignificant and contemptible. This subject, which was so deeply rooted in man's innermost soul, contained germs of poetry destined, at the touch of genius, to show their fertility, but first presenting themselves to us in the clumsy compositions of popular poets.

Northern Italy possesses a considerable number of religious poems belonging to the thirteenth century. The oldest of the monuments of this class composed in those parts are a rhymed Decalogue, which paraphrases the ten commandments somewhat clumsily, adding examples from Holy Writ, by way of strengthening the precepts, and a *Salve Regina*, both in the dialect of Bergamo. The MS. containing them is said to be of the year 1253. The notaries of Bologna at times wrote down in their documents pious poems instead of the love songs. A record of 1279 contains a *Pater Noster*, in which one or more Latin words of the prayer are always supplemented by Italian words, in such a way as to form a pair of verses. Another document, dated 1294, gives us a sonnet on the Virgin, and in a MS. of Ferrara, of Bolognese origin, are preserved a *lauda* and a song of praise in verses of seven syllables with irregular rhymes, both of them again on the subject of the Virgin Mary. Then we have works of considerable length by Uguccione da Lodi, Barsegapè, Fra Bonvesin da Riva, and Fra Giacomino, of Verona. These

are priests, who expound to the people, in a manner that they can understand and in their own dialect, the sacred traditions and the truths of faith. In spite of the fact that the authors belong to different parts, all four of them, as well as many other writers of Northern Italy of that and later periods, write almost the same language, which, of the present dialects, approaches most closely to the Venetian, though it also contains elements of the Milanese as it is now spoken. It was therefore formerly assumed that a literary language had begun to develop here, to which the Venetian had served as a model, like the Tuscan in Central Italy. But Ascoli has proved that the present form of the dialects cannot be taken as a standard of their former state, and that the formations which are now regarded as being characteristic only of one or the other of the Northern dialects, were in the beginning more widely diffused and existed as doublets, so that the writers could choose between them. The forms that occur in these poems were, accordingly, really oral, only that in addition to them there were others which remained in the dialect, while the former died out. It is true that this constitutes the beginning of a literary idiom, the formation of which may always be said to commence the moment the dialect is set down in writing; the selection of certain forms, and the preference given to these over others, is the method by which a literary language is formed. But the standard, according to which the selection was made, was, as Ascoli remarked, not so much the Venetian as the Provençal, which exercised so wide an influence everywhere, and the French; those elements of the dialect were preferred which came nearest to these idioms, that were already adapted to literary use. The influence of the Latin is also very natural in the writings of the priests, and is unmistakable at any rate in the orthography; and so we have in this selection of forms, and in this mode of adaptation to a foreign and learned ideal, a process that is not unlike the one that was assumed by us to explain the formation of a literary language in Southern Italy.

The poem of Uguccione da Lodi is a long-winded sermon, very faulty in composition and full of repetitions; it exhorts mankind to abandon earthly vanities, by dint of bearing in mind inevitable death and the terrible punishment of hell.

In one passage the sermon changes into a prayer, for the author himself is a penitent sinner, who, till his old age, allowed himself to be dazzled by false worldly splendours, and who formerly, when he girt on his sword, believed himself to be more valiant than Roland, and now prays God to have mercy on his soul.

Pietro di Barsegapè, who names himself thus several times, belonged to an ancient and noble family of Milan, whose name was in Latin documents written *a Basilica Petri*, and was contracted in the vulgar tongue to *Bascapè*. He narrates in a long poem which is contained in a MS. of 1274, "how God created the world, and how man was formed of earth; how God descended from heaven to earth, in the pure, regal Virgin; and how he endured the passion, for our great salvation; and how he shall come on the day of wrath, when the great perdition shall take place":

Como Deo à fato lo mondo,
E como de terra fò l' omo formo;
Cum el descendè de cel in terra
In la vergene regal polçella;
E cum el sostene passion
Per nostra grande salvation;
E cum verà al dì de l' ira,
Là o' serà la grande roina.

It is, therefore, the entire great Christian epic of the Fall, the Redemption, and the Last Judgment. The account of the original sin is made the occasion for the introduction of long moral reflections on human corruption and on the struggle of the soul, which would wish always to live in a state of penance and severe discipline, with the refractory body, by which it is seduced to sensual pleasures. Then follows the denunciation of the world and of its empty joys, from which we must turn away, if we would be saved; the seven mortal sins are called the seven women with whom man has wanton intercourse, and on whose account he must needs descend to hell. The entire narrative is exceedingly simple, without ornament of any kind; it mostly follows the Biblical tradition, with certain concessions to the ideas of the time and of the hearers, as where Judas is called the seneschal and cellarer of the Lord, or where the Holy Virgin, after giving birth to the Saviour, goes to church and

hears the mass sung. But the order and clearness of this simple narrative are remarkable, and it must have left a considerable impression on the less cultivated among the listeners. It is a short reproduction for the people of all that they were to believe, and the author's own unshaken faith imparts a certain warmth to his recital. And so, although this is not yet poetry, properly speaking, still the germs are there from which poetry was destined to develop. It is necessary to seek the origin of a thing, when the thing itself is not yet in existence.

The verses of Fra Giacomino of Verona are no less rough and clumsy than those of Barsegapè; the author was a Franciscan monk of little culture. But these very facts bring us into closer touch with the people and with the thoughts that occupied them at that time. The two poems, which are closely connected, and which Giacomino himself claimed as his property by introducing his name at the end of the second, have a special interest by reason of their subject-matter: they treat "De Jerusalem celesti" and "De Babilonia civitate infernali," that is of Paradise and Hell. The religious poetry is didactic, its narrative aims at teaching and improving mankind. These poets stand in contrast to their contemporaries the *jongleurs*, the frivolous and worldly minstrels who recite the tales of chivalry. In the same way as these, they address themselves to the people, and are as it were spiritual minstrels, but their purpose is not merely to satisfy the curiosity of the masses, but to lay the foundations of a permanent gain. Their words are intended to appeal to the soul, to move it and to lead it towards the path of salvation. "This," says Barsegapè, "is no such fable, as you listen to in the winter, comfortably seated by the fire; but if you understand the discourse well, it will give you much to think over. If you are not harder than stones, you will have great fear through it." And Fra Giacomino: "But that you may not be calmed in your hearts, know that this is no fable or story of *jongleurs*; Giacomino of Verona, of the order of the Minorites, has compiled it from text, glossaries and sermons." But this purpose of moral correction cannot be attained with more complete success than by bringing before the imagination the condition of a future existence, that of the righteous in Paradise, with the purpose

of urging men to the practice of virtue by the attraction of such great bliss, that of the wicked in the tortures of Hell, in order to draw men away from vice through the instrumentality of fear. By four thoughts, says Barsegapè, can man redeem himself, by the thought of death, of the Resurrection, of Paradise, and of Hell, and it is in this sense that Fra Giacomino describes the two realms of the other world. His colours he has of course to borrow from this earthly existence, which supplies the people with their ideas of joy and torment in the next life. The description of Paradise therefore contains notions taken from the poetry of chivalry, with its brilliant ideals of happiness and glory; the blessed form the court of the Queen of Heaven, who crowns them with flowers and gives them beautiful steeds and a white banner, so that they stand forever before her throne, singing her praise. In Hell, on the other hand, we find vulgar reality of every-day life. The sinners are put on a spit by Beelzebub, covered with salt, vinegar, poison, and gall, and roasted like a "beautiful pig;" then the roast is carried to Lucifer, but he finds that it is not yet done and sends it back to the infernal kitchen (v. 117, *sqq.*). These are humorous traits of a coarse simplicity; the satirical and comic element, the bitter scoffing at the sinner who has been overtaken by the punishment he merits, occurs in the early Middle Ages in the descriptions of Hell, and we find it again in Dante. A more plastic conception of the sojourn of the blessed and damned souls is lacking in this poem; still, Giacomino is of one of the numerous precursors of the "Divina Commedia." To him probably belong also five poems, which follow the two others in the Venetian MS., one on the love of Christ, one on the Last Judgment, in which the soul exhorts its body to virtue and obedience, one on the frailty of human life, and finally a song in praise of the Madonna, and a series of prayers addressed to her and to the Holy Trinity. In the poem on the Virgin Mary we have again some reminiscences of chivalry. The poet calls himself the vassal of the Virgin; her alone he will extol in his verses, not women of this earth, as other poets do. And this image of the feudal conditions, to which men had grown accustomed from the lyric court poetry, thus transferred to the religious feelings inspired by Mary, occurs again

in a recently published poem in the form of the *Serventese*, which altogether shows great similarity, both in language and ideas, to the five poems we have just discussed, and is therefore probably by the same author.

Fra Bonvesin da Riva, of Milan, belonged to the third order of the "Humiliati," that of the laymen, so that he was twice married. He was a man of means, and appears to have held an honourable position, enjoying a great reputation for piety and munificence. The chronicles allude to him in the years 1288 and 1291, and a document in 1290; and in 1304 and 1313 he made his will, being, on the second occasion, already old and decrepit. He had attained a considerable degree of culture, and is called *magister* in the copies of his testament. A gravestone that used to exist in the convent of the Minorites in Milan, whose antiquity, it is true, is not vouched for, called him *doctor in grammatica*, and he composed several Latin works, a "Chronicon de Magnalibus Urbis Mediolanensis," which *Galvaneus Flamma* introduced into his "Manipulus Florum," and a treatise "De discipulorum preceptorumque moribus seu Vita Scolastica," written partly in prose and partly in distichs, which has been frequently printed. His Italian poems are more regular in appearance, they are composed in stanzas of four lines rhyming together, the verses being those long ones with a strong cæsura which are now called "Martelliani." This measure was at that time very usual for popular poetry; we found it in the "Rosa fresca," and Barsegapè and Giacomino employed it together with other shorter verses. Uguccione da Lodi wrote the first part of his work in these long lines, which he binds together in mono-rhyming *laisses*, according to the French manner; the rest are verses of eight syllables, rhyming in pairs. The themes treated by Bonvesin show great variety, and their tendency is everywhere the same as with the other religious poets. He begins a description of the Last Judgment with the words: "These are terrible words, which have great worth; through them everyone should be moved to great fear, to bewail his sins and to be in great terror, and then to do the work which may be pleasing to the Creator."

> Queste en parolle terribele, ke portan grand valor,
> Donde se devrave commove zascun a grand temor,

A planze li soi peccai e star in grand tremor,
E far quel 'ovra apresso ke plaza al creator.

In another passage the soul addresses its body, and admonishes it by describing the torments of hell, or it visits the body after death—in the case of the good spirit, in order to praise it; in the case of the bad spirit in order to upbraid it, and to accuse it of having been the cause of the tortures. These are the dialogues between the body and the soul, which appear in all the literature of those times, and the most famous of which, the "Visio Fulberti," or "Philiberti" probably inspired many of those in the vulgar tongues. Colloquies or disputes between body and soul were described also by Uguccione, Barsegapè, and Giacomino. The dialogue is altogether a favourite form of poetry, which was specially popular in the Middle Ages, and which was employed both with serious and humorous intentions. We found it in the *contrasto* of the "Rosa fresca," in the "Gemma leziosa," in the Bolognese ballad *tenzoni*, and in other poems of a popular character. In Latin, there is a dispute between the flax and the sheep ("Conflictus Ovis et Lini"), by Hermannus Contractus (who lived in the eleventh century), with a moral tendency, and a "Disputatio Mundi et Religionis," which is ascetic in purpose, whereas the "Conflictus Veris et Hiemis," and the "Contentio Aquæ et Vini," were intended only to amuse. Several of Bonvesin's dialogues recall the Latin ones; thus he confers the power of speech on animals and plants, in the manner of the fables and of the "Conflictus Ovis et Lini," and lets the modest violet dispute with the proud rose, and the industrious ant with the frivolous fly, in order to deduce therefrom maxims for a God-fearing life. In another poem Satan disputes with the Holy Virgin, who deprives him of penitent sinners and leads them back to God, and the devil there already shows that he is the logician he prides himself on being in Dante; he brings strong arguments to bear against the Madonna, who is forced to seek the aid of the entire theological wisdom, and then finally can be said to have held her own only from a believer's standpoint. The sinner also disputes with Mary, and manages to convince her that she must lend him her good services; for it is due to him, after all, that she has become the mother of God, who would not have descended

to earth but for the sinfulness of mankind—this being an argument that was often repeated in the Middle Ages. The longest of these *contrasti* is the "Treatise of the Months" ("Trattato dei Mesi"), which again may be compared to the "Conflictus Veris et Hiemis"; for in the one the seasons are introduced discoursing, and in the other the months. The months follow one another, reproach January with its sloth and other sins, and extol themselves for their own good qualities and for the benefits they confer. January is, therefore, to be their King no longer, as he does not deserve this rank. Thereupon they seize their arms and set on him; but he rises from the fire with a huge club. This latter, together with a speech full of wisdom which he delivers to them, and which occupies forty-six stanzas, bring his rebellious subjects back to a state of obedience. Here a humorous impression is intended, but the piece ends with the moral that one must not undertake great things, if one does not know how to carry them out. Nor are the speeches of January and the other months lacking in moral precepts.

With Bonvesin, in general, moralising and preaching occupy a large space; he is often too diffuse, and when he can instruct, he is not particular, giving us everything without distinction, even what is repugnant, as in one passage of the poem on alms (v. 257, *sqq.*), where he depicts the disgusting sights of hospitals. But at times the faith that fires his imagination inspires him to a description or to an image of unexpected poetic energy. Thus, where he says of the damned, in the account of the Last Judgment (v. 77, *sqq.*): "Then they shall see the devils on the left hand, with whom they shall dwell for ever in the glowing fire; their glowing conscience they will have within their hearts, and without, on all sides, the glowing world"; or, farther on, when he describes the terrible scenes between the damned father and son, who mutually reproach and curse each other, and tear each other to pieces like mad dogs, because they were once united in sin (v. 185, *sqq.*).

But it is the narration of tales, of course, that Bonvesin's talent shows itself at its best; these appealed most closely to the popular taste, and are effective on account of the believing simplicity with which they are told. Bonvesin is wont to tack on to his religious and moral precepts marvellous

tales or parables, by way of example. Sometimes his source is the Bible, as in the long poem on Job, or he recites the old legends of Saint Mary Ægyptiaca, or of Saint Alexis; some of them are also pious tales, which belong to the late Middle Ages, and bring the spirit of the time vividly before us—thus, in the poem on alms, the story of a knight, into whose service the devil has entered in order to work his fall. But he is saved through the generous gifts he distributes among the poor, and a pious bishop, who has come into the knight's house, lays bare the trickery of the evil one. On going to bed, he asks the servant, looking up at the moon, in what phase it was, and he carelessly replies: "In the same phase as on the day of the Creation." "And how do you know that?" asks the bishop. "Because I too, was present on that day." Then the bishop plainly saw with whom he had to deal (v. 610, *sqq.*). The songs in praise of Mary contain the tale of a monk, whom the Virgin protects against robbers. These are lying in wait for him, but, as he comes along the road, they see a marvellous lady sitting on his horse at his side, occupied in gathering, in a white cloth, the roses that fall from the monk's mouth. The marvellous lady was the Madonna, and the roses *Ave Marias* which the holy man was reciting (v. 417, *sqq.*). This is somewhat spoilt for us by the grotesqueness of the image, which, however, was not felt by the author's contemporaries. Purer, however, is the breath of poetry exhaled from the story of "Brother Ave Maria" (v. 473, *sqq.*). A knight enters a cloister, in order to do penance for a life of sin, and it is found impossible to make his hard old brain remember anything beyond the *Ave Maria;* but this serves him for all prayers, and it is always on his lips. When he at length died, and was buried, a miraculous flower springs up from his grave, which bears on each of its leaves, in gold letters, the legend *Ave Maria*, and when they seek the root of the plant, they find it wound round the dead man's heart:

Fo del so monumento una planta gh' è nadha;
Sover zascuna folia de quella planta ornadha
Scrigio era Ave Maria con letera sordoradha.
Con letere d'oro in le foje scrigio era Ave Maria;
Li frai del monestil corren a tuta via,
Viden tal meraveja k' illoga era paria;
Vezudho han kel so monego zeva per bona via.

Con grand devotion la planta fi cavadha ;
Cercan la soa radix, dond ella po esse nadha :
Incerco lo cor del monego trovan k' ella è invojadha,
Dal cor fo per la boca la planta ghe fo trovadha.

Of course, Bonvesin did not invent these stories either. For all of them the sources or older versions of the same theme will, in due course, be found ; in the case of the finest of them, the one last quoted, they are well known. But this does not take away from the value of Bonvesin's simple narrative, the full merit of which, indeed, does not come out till we compare it with these other versions.

In Bonvesin's works, we find, together with the religious and moral poetry, some more practical pieces, dealing with life on earth : he gives not only precepts for pious living and for the attainment of bliss in the next world, but also directions for fit conduct in this. To this category belongs, in part, the treatise of the months, but, in a greater degree, another poem, that deals with the fifty rules of conduct at table, "De quinquaginta curialitatibus ad mensam." This contains minute regulations as to how one has to conduct oneself in company at meals, how one is to sit, to be decent and clean, to eat and drink, to hand to one's neighbour the drinking cup that was intended for general use, and the like. At times the admonitions are very strange, and afford us a glimpse into the conditions of social intercourse at that time. Similar to this is an anonymous didactic poem, also written in the dialect of Northern Italy, in which a friend is instructed in the rules of morality and decent conduct, with special reference again to behaviour at table. However, it is not certain whether this poem, which is preserved in a Vatican MS., belongs to this period.

Here we have, therefore, the beginnings of a secular didactic poetry, dealing with the actual world ; and as the real representative of this school we may regard another poet, only a few of whose works have as yet been published, namely the Cremonese, Girardo Patechio, or, as he called himself in dialectic form, Girard Pateg'. Patechio appears to be the earliest of all the poets of Northern Italy known to us. For the chronicler Salimbene, who was born in 1221, tells of a practical joke once played by his (Salimbene's) uncle on Master Patecchus of Cremona ; so that

this probably took place before 1250. The same Salimbene, under the year 1259, records a poem of Patechio—"De Tædiis"—and in various passages in his chronicle he incidentally introduced verses from it, which show that it belonged to the class of poetry which the Provençals called *enueg*, and was therefore an enumeration of all the things that were disagreeable and objectionable to the poet, as opposed to the *genre* called *plazer*, which was employed by Guittone. Salimbene says of himself that he had composed an imitation of Patechio's "De Tædiis." This has been lost; but we have imitations belonging to a later period in a sonnet of Bindo Bonichi, and in a chapter of Pucci, which testify to the influence exercised by this old poem in dialect on the literary development of future generations and in the midst of Tuscany. The *enueg*, as was already the case with the Provençals, inclined towards satire and then assumed didactic tendencies, inasmuch as it dealt with the general relations of mankind and society, whilst the poet, in expressing his indignation, at the same time criticised and censured the prevailing morals. To this class belonged Patechio's poem, to judge from the fragments that have been preserved. A further characteristic product of this popular didactic tendency is the same writer's "Splanamento de li proverbi de Salamone," in long clumsy verses; here the author, as he says at the beginning, desires, by translation into the vulgar tongue, to make Solomon's wise maxims generally accessible, not for the clever and cultured, who do not require such a version, but for the sake of the masses.

An anonymous Venetian is the author of a poem in one hundred and eighty-nine stanzas of four long verses joined together by the same rhyme, which treats one of the favourite themes of medieval didactic and satirical poetry. It inveighs against women, and contains a long enumeration of their intrigues and vices; this description being rendered more effective by examples taken not only from antiquity but selected likewise from events that were almost contemporary, as also by the use of similes that refer principally to the peculiarities of animals. Here and there we find passages taken from a short Old French poem on the same subject, the "Chastiemusart." The writer's aim appears to have been very serious; he does not jest, but earnestly exhorts men to

guard against wicked men, and repeatedly declares that no fear would ever keep him from uttering the truth for the benefit of his neighbour.

A collection of early Genoese poems belongs partly to the end of the thirteenth century, and partly to the beginning of the fourteenth. One author is probably responsible for the entire series, in which the Italian pieces are interspersed with Latin ones; the collection has the appearance of a kind of poetical diary that was gradually compiled, in which the writer incorporated his compositions and observations as the occasion gave birth to them, and this accounts for the fact that prayers, legends, moralisings, political poems, maxims, proverbs, and jests are here mingled indiscriminately. In one place we read an invocation to the Virgin or to Saint Stephen, a marriage blessing, a diffuse paraphrase of the Decalogue or the life of Saint Catherine, and elsewhere directions for the choice of a wife, rules of health, warning against law-suits, words of censure against the painting of women, attacks on wicked priests, who preach and do not practise, reflections on the pernicious results of the party struggles between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which were causing the ruin of the city of Genoa. Some of the short interspersed pieces (*motti*) may have been maxims which were on everyone's lips, and which the author adopted with certain modifications; this is probable from the circumstance, that the vulgar jest concerning the evil results of the eating of chestnuts (No. 8) occurs again in the collection with slight variations (No. 103), and in the same way another saying (No. 88) with greater changes (No. 135). The form employed is mostly the verse of nine syllables, but not infrequently also that of eight syllables, rhyming in pairs or crosswise.

The Genoese poet displays strong municipal patriotism; the praise of his native city forms the subject of several long poems, in which he describes to a friend the power and wealth of Genoa in the most glowing colours. With this is combined an ardent hatred of her rival Venice, with which city continual warfare was waged. In two poems (Nos. 47 and 49) he celebrates the great victories of the Genoese fleet at Lajazzo and Curzola (in 1294 and 1298). These are exact descriptions of the events in bald historic narrative,

which are, however, animated by the feeling of patriotic pride, that fills the whole: "Oh! what a mighty attack," he exclaims (Nos. 49, 317), "with seventy-seven ships, which are worthy to be gilded, to conquer nearly a hundred galleys!"

De, che grande envagimento,
Con setanta e seti legni,
Chi esser dorai som degni,
Venze gare provo de cento!

The latest of the dated political poems (85) refers to the arrival of the Emperor Henry VII. in Lombardy in the year 1311. It expresses the same feelings as the famous words of Dante, Cino and Dino Compagni. The new Emperor is the saving light, which God has caused to rise over the stormy ocean of this world; he descends, the bearer of peace, and the cities yield to him, seeing his goodness and his impartiality.

Here, and in many other passages, we recognise the citizen of the maritime republic by his predilection for taking his examples and images from ships and from the sea. The ill-guarded ship, whose crew thoughtlessly abandon themselves to rest and diversion, is surprised and captured by the lurking foe; in the same way, we, traversing the sea of life, must be on our guard, lest we fall a prey to the Evil One. Here the three principal sins that threaten us are given as Pride, Avarice, and Lust, corresponding to the lion, wolf, and leopard of the "Divine Comedy" (39). The dark dungeon into which the crew of the conquered vessel are thrown by their enemies serves as an image for hell and its torments (54), in the enumeration of which it is to be noted how they are here made to coincide with the nature of the sins themselves. There is cold and frost for those who were cold in their love for God; darkness and vapours for those who did not follow the divine light, but kept to the obscure and confused paths of sensuality; and the terrible sight of the devils for those that looked with such longing on the vanities of the world. Of course, as will be seen, this attempt at a deeper conception of the penalties of hell is yet far from being a complete success.

VII

RELIGIOUS LYRICAL POETRY IN UMBRIA

IN Northern Italy the religious poetry is principally narrative and didactic; whereas the lyrical character predominates in Umbria, the real centre of the great religious movement in Italy in the thirteenth century, the home of S. Francis, whose efforts contributed so largely towards inducing men to become absorbed in the spiritual life. Francis, the son of a merchant called Pietro Bernardone, was born in Assisi in the year 1182. At the age of twenty-five, after a dangerous illness, he turned away from the joyous and worldly life that he had led till then. In mystic dreams he thought he was called to accomplish a great mission. He sought solitude and lost himself in ecstatic prayers; then he gave up all earthly ties, left his father's house, lived on alms, and imposed severe privations on himself. Companions of the same mind as himself soon gathered round him, and thus the order of the Franciscans was formed, whose principal rule was the poverty of one and all, a life entirely occupied with sacrifice and pure love. But Francis's asceticism does not take the form of a gloomy abjuration of all that is beautiful in the world; he sees in Nature not evil, but the glorious work of God, and as such he sings her praises and loves her with childlike tenderness. In his simplicity and humility, the saint felt that he was closely united to all creatures, even to inanimate objects, and called them all his brothers and sisters, because they, like man, had been created by God. He addressed them as intelligent beings, and exhorted them to love and gratitude towards Him, who had made them so fair and so useful. This poetic instinct, which filled his life and thoughts, inspired him once to the famous Hymn to the Sun. In it the saint sings in praise of God, while celebrat-

ing his works, and, in his usual manner, he calls the sun his brother, the wind his brother, the water and the earth his sister, as also bodily death which no living man can escape. And from mankind he singles out for the glory of God those that pardon for His sake, and that patiently endure sorrow and pain; they are blessed, for they shall be crowned. The author is said to have given the name of "Hymn to the Sun" to the poem, because the sun is more beautiful than the other things created, and because it could, beyond all others, be compared to the Highest himself. In this sense the series of those beings opens, whose praise is sung:

> Laudatu sii, mi signore, con tulle le tue creature,
> Specialmente miser lu frate sole,
> Lu quale jorna, e allumini noi per lui;
> Et illu è bellu e radiante cun grande splendore,
> De te, altissimu, porta significatione.

It has been disputed whether these extremely simple utterances of a glowing passion are really verses, or perchance prose; but the old assonances are even now, in the present text, clearly perceptible, and so the attempts to divide the poem up into separate rhyming verses must be approved. What degree of regularity the structure of these verses originally attained, it is now difficult to determine; for the readings of the text as we now have them are all modernised, as is proved, among other things, by the fact that the dialectical elements are far too scarce for a work of that period. This defective condition of the text is all the more to be deplored, in that the hymn to the sun is one of the oldest monuments of the vulgar tongue; for Francis died in the year 1226.

According to an account in the "Speculum Vitæ B. Francisci et Sociorum ejus," which is trustworthy, though belonging to a later time, Saint Francis composed his poem two years before his death, after a night of dire temptation, and after a revelation had assured him that he would attain the realms of bliss. He himself set it to music, and taught it to his companions, in order that they might sing it. He also had the idea of sending some of the brethren forth with Fra Pacifico, so that they might go through the world, preaching and singing the praise of the Lord, "like minstrels

of the Lord." And, after finishing the song of praise, they were to say to the people: "We are minstrels of the Lord, and therefore we desire to have reward from you, namely, that you should yield yourself to true repentance." Of this brother Pacificus, who was to be at the head of this religious and poetical mission, we are told that, before departing from the life on earth, he was called "Rex versuum," on account of his poetical gifts, and that he was solemnly crowned by the Emperor. No doubt he also employed his talents in the Order for the new and holy purpose; but it is impossible to say whether he wrote in Latin or in Italian, as none of his pieces have been preserved. Others among the oldest members of the Order wrote in Latin. Tommaso da Celano, who narrated the story of Francis's life a few years after the saint's death, is the author of the famous "Dies iræ, dies illa"; while several exquisite poems, as, for example, the "Ave cœleste lilium," are attributed to St. Bonaventura, though it is true that the authorship is doubtful, as is so often the case with the Latin hymns.

The order of the mendicant friars of the Franciscans was in every respect in touch with the people. It did not withdraw itself into the solitude of the cloister, but mingled with the daily life of the people, according to the intention of its founder, in order to advise, help, and console them in their sorrows; especially intimate and lasting were its relations with the lower classes. And the enormous influence which it soon began to exercise in all parts was due to the fact that it supplied an urgent spiritual need at that period. The period of greater worldliness, such as the twelfth century had been, was followed, in the thirteenth, by a renewed and stronger revival of religious feeling. This movement was rooted in the people and went on independently of the existing ecclesiastical organisation; partly, indeed, it was directed against it. The very heresies which multiplied and were adopted by so numerous and zealous a following, originated in this strenuous need of faith. The general corruption of the clergy aroused the desire for a reform of the Church and for a return to its original state of purity, and this desire was met by the two newly-founded orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, that is to say, when they were first instituted and before they themselves degenerated.

Although they were true to the Pope and to Catholicism, they were opposed to the Benedictines and to the powerful and wealthy secular clergy, and desired the restoration of primitive Christianity through poverty, active charity, and an unpretending and sincere form of divine worship. The real or pretended prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, who had, at the end of the twelfth century, lived in the monastery of Fiore in Calabria, made a deep impression and for a long time found numerous believers. After the era of the Father, who had operated through patriarchs and prophets, and after that of the Son, whose agents were apostles and apostolic men, the third era was now to come, that of the Holy Ghost, whose work was to be accomplished by the monks; and the fulfilment of this prophecy was now awaited. Francis appeared to be the image of Christ himself, and the earliest among his companions resembled the Apostles; purified human nature, in their persons, again approached the nature of God and worked many miracles, the truth of which was not doubted, and the greatest of the miracles was, as it had been in the case of the diffusion of Christianity, the rapidity with which these new orders grew and spread and everywhere left marked traces of their activity. The mendicant friars wandered about in the cities and in the country, preaching with holy zeal and rousing the masses; they exhorted men to peace and to true penitence for the requital of their sins. The importance of Francis's institution was increased by the foundation of the lay order of the Tertians, into which hundreds of thousands entered, as it enabled them to enjoy the benefits of monastic rule, without losing their civil status and in spite of their being married. It appeared to be a religious association that was destined to embrace the entire human race. The attempt was made to found other mendicant orders, which chiefly imitated the Franciscans and partly aimed at surpassing them in moral discipline, but these did not receive the sanction of the Pope.

This spiritual exaltation did not, it is true, always remain in the same acute condition. Several times it reached a height at which it became fanaticism; but then it again diminished in strength, without, however, disappearing altogether. In the year 1233, the time of the so-called *Alleluja*, there was, in the whole of Italy, a revival of this religious exaltation. Old

and young, high and low, passed through the streets of the towns singing pious songs. The countryfolk, men, women, and children, streamed into the cities, in order to hear the sermons that were preached daily, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; the conversions and entries into the order were of frequent occurrence. In Bologna and elsewhere in Lombardy the Dominican Giovanni of Vicenza preached at that time with great success. The masses followed him in procession, barefooted, with crosses and flags, whilst their women laid aside their ornaments. He was the means of bringing about peace between the rival families and communes, and the statutes of the cities were handed over to him, so that he might reform them according to his judgment; for a time the government of Verona and Vicenza was in his hands. Even laymen usurped the office that belonged by rights to the clergy, and undertook to show the people the right path on their own account when the priests began relaxing their efforts. One of these was the Benedictus of Umbria or the Roman province, called *frater de cornetta*, of whom Salimbene tells how he, in the year of the *Alleluja*, preached in the streets and churches of Parma. He was a man of extraordinary appearance, with a long black beard and attired in a black garment that reached down to his feet, on the front and back of which a large cross was worked in red; in his hand he held a metal trumpet. He was followed by a number of boys, often carrying branches and burning candles. He began his words of praise by saying in the vulgar tongue: "Laudato et benedetto et glorificato sia lo Patre," and this was repeated by the boys in a loud voice. Then he spoke again the same words, adding, "sia lo Fijo," and the boys did likewise. After a third repetition he added, "sia lo Spirito Sancto," and then, "Alleluja, alleluja, alleluja." Thereupon he blew his trumpet and preached, closing with Latin verses in praise of the Virgin.

A movement similar to that of the year of the *Alleluja*, but more lasting in its effects, and more direct in its influence on literature, made itself felt in Italy in the year 1260. This was the movement of the *flagellanti*, which, again, originated in the mountains of Umbria. The times were sad and stormy, and the people were oppressed by the schism be-

tween the secular and spiritual powers, by the party struggles of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, by war, violence, disease, and famine. Thereupon, in the year 1258, an old hermit named Raniero Fasani appeared in Perugia; he declared that he had been sent from heaven in order to announce mysterious and terrible punishments which threatened the sinful world. Clad in a sack, girt with a cord, and carrying a scourge in his hand, he passed through the streets and squares of the town, exhorting men to penance and to flagellation. Soon a numerous band formed round him, who called themselves the *Disciplinati di Gesù Cristo.* Clad in sacks like their leader, often almost naked, these people, of every age and condition, went about and, while they scourged themselves, shed tears and blood in profusion; they invoked divine mercy in their hymns. From the district of Perugia these processions extended to the neighbouring provinces; and thus this mania of flagellation spread to the other parts of the country, to Rome and to Northern Italy, like a holy conflagration, or, as Salimbene says, with the rapidity of an eagle swooping down on its prey. Everywhere the mournful chants of the penitents were heard. Whoever did not do penance and scourge himself, observes the chronicler, was considered to be more wicked than the devil, and all pointed at him with their fingers. And again conversions of stubborn sinners took place, peace was made, unjustly acquired property was restored, and men who had been mortal enemies embraced and begged each other for forgiveness. All this was regarded as the beginning of the third era of the world, the one under the influence of the Holy Ghost, which was, according to Joachim's prophecy, to commence in that very year, 1260. Of course, men were soon disabused: war and confusion, hatred and vice did not disappear from the world. But even after the great enthusiasm had passed away, the societies of the *flagellanti* or *Disciplinati*, which had been formed in every part of Italy, remained, and the literary *genre* which had been created by this movement—that of the *laude spirituali*, or sacred songs in the vulgar tongue, also continued to exist.

The *Lauda* is, according to D'Ancona's excellent definition, the popular sacred song, as opposed to the Latin church hymn which was no longer intelligible to the people;

and even though it may have been in existence before, for which, however, there is no testimony, there can be no doubt that it owes its rise in importance and its sudden fruitfulness to the formation of the fraternities of *disciplinati* we have been discussing. It was through the instrumentality of these societies, which drew their members by preference from the less cultured classes, that the religious poem definitely came to be written in Italian instead of Latin—a plan that Francis had been the first to adopt. The collections of Umbrian *laude* which have come down to us were not written down till the fourteenth century; but among the poems contained in them many are earlier than this, and some of them may still belong to those that were sung during the processions organised by the hermit Fasani. Monaci assumed that this was the case with several of them, which seem to bear in a special degree the stamp of simple and original poetry, as, for example, the following verses that refer to the cross which was borne before the troops of penitents like a standard:

Or esguardate, crudei peccatore,
Co dura morte fe Christo per noie.
Chè lo suo corpo si fo forte frustato,
De corona de spine si fo encoronato;
Come um mal nomo si era menato,
Ciascun gridava: muoia el ladrone.
E noie taupine non cie volem pensare,
Como per noie se lasò flagellare,
Su nella croce con gran chiuove chiavare,
Fuoro spuntate per più gran dolore. . . .[1]

The names of the oldest *laudesi* are forgotten; their productions became common property, like the popular songs. Only one of them is well known to us—a man, who has, to a certain extent, become the representative of the whole *genre*, so that the poems of others were not rarely attributed to him. This is Jacopone da Todi. His own life is a legend.

[1] Now look, hard-hearted sinner, what a cruel death Christ endured for us. For his body was scourged with violence, with the crown of thorns he was crowned. Like a criminal he was led along, and each one cried out, "Let the robber die." And we wretches do not wish to think of that, how he let himself be scourged for our sake, and nailed up on the cross with large nails—they were blunted in order to cause more pain. . . .

He came from the family of the Benedetti, in Todi, studied law, became an advocate, married, and led a happy life in his native town, surrounded by wealth and pleasures. Then it happened, about the year 1268, that, at a wedding feast, in the midst of the joyful dancing, the floor gave way, and his beautiful young wife, alone of all the guests, was fatally injured by the fall. He lifted her up as a corpse, and, when she was undressed, a hair-cloth was found underneath the costly robes that she had donned for her husband's sake. At sight of this the gay lawyer was touched to the heart, and a sudden revulsion of feeling took place within him. He sold all his property and gave the proceeds to the poor. He gave up his former occupations, and avoided his friends and relatives; he visited the churches in a coarse hermit's garb, and spent his days in fervently praying and in scourging himself. He was considered to be mad, and in his exaggerated penance he really did things that justified such a view. He wished to appear vile and despicable in the eyes of all, and to induce men to scorn and insult him, in order, by patient suffering, to become more worthy in the sight of God. Thus he once came among the people at a feast, crawling on all fours, with a saddle on his shoulder and a bridle in his mouth, like a beast of burden. On another occasion he appeared at a wedding in his brother's house, after rubbing his body in with turpentine and rolling himself in the feathers of a bed. It was not till after ten years of penance that he tried to enter the order of the Franciscans. At first they hesitated, as to whether the mad Jacopone should be admitted. Then he is said to have written the poem—"Or udite nova pazzia," which at once procured him admission; however, he remained all his life in the humble position of a lay-brother. Among the Franciscans a strife was going on at that time between two parties, into which the order had been split up soon after the death of its founder. The one, that of the Conventualists, desired the severity of the discipline to be mitigated, which, as Innocent III. had already said, was made for angels, not for men; the other, that of the Spiritualists, wished it to be maintained in all its rigour. Jacopone, of course, sided with the latter. The good Pope Celestine V. had taken these under his protection, but Boniface VIII., from political motives, declared himself for

the Conventualists. Since that time, Jacopone was his bitter foe. He took part in the rebellion of the two deposed cardinals, Jacopo and Pietro Colonna, who, on May 10, 1297, formed a union with their adherents in Longhezza, declared Celestine's abdication and the choice of Boniface to be invalid, and appealed to a Council. Boniface preached a crusade against them, and besieged them in Palestrina, into which town Jacopone had also retired. He brought to bear against the Pope the weapons that were at his disposal, hurling at him a violent poetical invective:

O papa Bonifazio,
Molto hai giocato al mondo,
Penso, che giocondo
Non ten potrai partire.[1]

But after the capture of Palestrina (in September, 1298), Boniface took a terrible revenge on the monk, who was condemned to life-long imprisonment, thrown into a putrid underground dungeon, and weighed down with chains. Jacopone rejoiced at his wretched condition, and thanked God for the pain and anguish he had brought on him. The excommunication alone bowed him down and forced him to submission; he addressed to the Pope humble poems, entreating him to pardon him, and to leave him all his corporal punishments—yea, to double them, but to release his soul from the ban of excommunication. But Boniface remained obdurate, and it was not till after his death, in 1303, that the gentle Bendedict XI. freed him from the ban, and set him at liberty. He lived another three years, and died on December 25, 1306, in the convent of the Franciscans at Collazzone. Popular belief assigns to him a place among the blessed, but it is not known whether he was ever canonised. In the year 1596, Bishop Angelo Cesi had a monument erected to him in the cloister of St. Fortunato at Todi, where he lies buried, with the fine inscription: "Ossa Beati Jacoponi de Benedictis Tudertini Fratris Ordinis Minorum, qui stultus propter Christum, nova mundum arte delusit et cœlum rapuit."

Fra Jacopone is the true type of the Christian ascetic in the Middle Ages, in his voluntary humiliation and renuncia-

[1] O Pope Boniface, thou hast played much in the world; I think that thou wilt not be able to leave it happily.

tion. He despises all the goods and joys of the world, disdains philosophy and theology, Plato and Aristotle, whom he formerly venerated. Moreover, his own personality and honour—to which man clings to the last—are no longer of any account with him, and he rejoices at the outrages that are heaped on him: "My good name I commend to the ass, that brays; may he who insults me have more than a year's remission of punishment for sins":

Fama mia, ti raccomanno
Al somier che va raghianno;
Perdonanza più d'un anno
Chi mi dice villania.

These are his words in the *lauda* with which he bade farewell to the vanities of the earth ("Udite nova pazzia"), and this expression of the greatest self-abnegation was so much in harmony with his feelings, that he repeated it twice in other poems. He cannot satiate himself with his penance, he would wish to suffer for his sins, even as Christ had suffered, though unjustly. He prays God to send him all conceivable evils, and takes a pleasure in enumerating the various diseases: "O Lord, by thy grace, send illness unto me. To me the quartain fever, and the continuous and tertian fever, and that occurring twice daily, with the great dropsy. May toothache come to me, and headache, and pains in the belly, in my stomach piercing agony, and quinsy in the throat":

O signor, per cortesia,
Mandami la malsania.
A me la freve quartana,
La continua e la terzana,
La doppia cottidiana,
Colla grande idropesia.
A me venga mal de dente,
Mal de capo e mal de ventre,
A lo stomaco dolor pungente
E'n canna la squimanzia. . . .

"For the love of Christ," he is reported to have said, "I, with the greatest equanimity, wish to endure in this life all the troubles, pains, tribulations, burdens, and agonies that may be expressed in words, or even such as can only be imagined. And that would not suffice for me. But I would

wish, besides, that, as soon as I shall have departed from this life, the devils should seize my soul and bear it down to hell so that I might there satisfy Divine justice, by suffering all the penalties that are owing both for my own sins and those of the souls in Purgatory, and also, if possible, for those of the eternally damned. Moreover, I would, for the love of Christ, endure all the torments for the very devils, and would be ready to remain in hell till the day of the Last Judgment and longer still, as the Divine will might decree. But, in addition to all this, it would be very pleasing, and the greatest joy to me, if all those, for whom I should suffer all these things were to be admitted into Heaven before me, and if they were to say to me, after I, too, had at length been received, that they owed me no thanks whatever for the torments that I had endured for them." Tradition may here have exaggerated; but still, these words, at all events, give us the same impression as that left by Jacopone's own words on posterity, and they are, in their essence, filled with the same spirit that we find in his poems.

It is a dallying with the ideas of pain and humiliation that borders on insanity, a lust of suffering, as it were, and in his love he is no less ardent and immoderate. The mystic and spiritual love for God appears with Jacopone in the warmest colours of earthly affection—it is a veritable delirium, an intoxication of passion:

Ciascuno amante che ama il Signore
Venga alla danza cantando d' amore.
Venga alla danza tutto innamorato,
Disiando quello che già l' ha creato;
Di amor ardendo il cor tutto infocato
Sia trasformato—di grande fervore.
Infervorato dell' ardente foco
Come impazzito, che non trova loco,
Cristo abbracciando no l' abbracci poco,
Ma in questo gioco—se gli strugga il core.
Lo cor si strugge come al foco il ghiaccio,
Quando col mio Signor dentro m' abbraccio;
Gridando Amor, d' amor sì mi disfaccio,
Con l' Amor giaccio—com' ebrio d' amore.[1]

[1] Let every lover, who loves the Lord, come to the dance, singing of love. Let him come to the dance quite enamoured, longing for him by whom he was created. Burning with love and all in flames, let the

In the song, "Amor di caritate," which used to be wrongly attributed to St. Francis, the soul says to Christ:

Amore, dolce languire,
Amor mio desioso,
Amor mio delettoso,
Annegami in amore.[1]

His ecstasy rises so high, that it is no longer capable of words, and vents itself instead in repeated exclamations, in such a way that the cry of *Amore* is repeated incessantly throughout six stanzas. At the same time the influence of the court poetry in the Provençal manner is here plainly apparent. In the piece just quoted, the poet laments the excessive ardour that consumes him; he feels pain where he seeks for joy; he dies in bliss and lives without heart:

Ch'io moro in dilettanza
E vivo senza core,

verses which might occur equally well in the canzone of a Sicilian. Love's flame rends his heart as with a knife, and through it he loses his reason. He embraces Christ and implores his love, languishes and laments; his spiritual passion is even expressed in the playful antitheses of the *devinalh:*

Seppi parlare, ora son fatto muto;
Vedeva, e mo son cieco diventato.
Sì grande abisso non fu mai veduto;
Tacendo parlo; fuggo e son ligato;
Scendendo salgo, tengo e son tenuto;
Di for so e dentro, caccio e son cacciato.[2]

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heart be transformed, with great ardour. Glowing with the burning fire, like a madman, that cannot contain himself, embracing Christ, let him embrace him not a little, but may his whole heart melt in this act. The heart melts as ice in the fire, when I embrace my Lord in my soul; crying out Love, by love I am thus undone; with love I sink down, as though drunken with love.

[1] O Love, sweet languishing, O Love, longed for by me, O Love, full of delights, drown me in love.

[2] I knew how to speak, now I have become dumb; I saw and now I have become blind. So great an abyss has never been seen. In silence I speak; I flee and am bound; descending I climb up, I hold and am held; without I am and within; I pursue and am pursued.

The most usual form of the Italian *lauda* was from the beginning, and always remained so long as the *genre* was cultivated, that of the *ballata* or dance-poem; Jacopone calls several of his poems merely *ballata*. This may be surprising, and appear almost as a profanation, but it was never felt as such. A popular form of poetry was required, and no other was available save that of the *ballata*. This was, owing to its divisions, especially suitable for sacred singing on the part of the masses; the solo voice could sing the stanza, and the chorus the *ripresa*, as in the dance. Nor must it be forgotten that the conception of the praise of God as a spiritual dance was ancient and traditional, and that it frequently occurs in the works of the *laudesi*, as, for example, in the poem of Jacopone quoted above. Mysticism represents our position with respect to the world beyoud under the image of sensuality, and these passionate utterances of a glowing sentiment are in harmony with a form which usually served to express worldly joy and pain.

Jacopone was endowed from his early years with no mean degree of culture. He wrote also in Latin, and several of the finest sacred poems in this language are attributed to him (though, here again, the authorship has been disputed), among others, the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa," and the hymn expressing contempt of the world:

> Cur mundus militat sub vana gloria,
> Cujus prosperitas est transitoria.

But generally he employed the vulgar tongue like the other *laudesi*—the Umbrian dialect, whose traces only the more recent editors of his poems have for the greater part obliterated. He despised learning, and wished to speak to the people, and to the poor. He was in reality, as D'Ancona remarked, one of those popular minstrels of the Lord, that St. Francis desired to see among his disciples. To the people he owes the best part of his inspiration. He knows how to depict, with tenderness and child-like simplicity, the scene of the birth of Christ; and, on the other hand, is master of powerful images and kindling words, when describing the terrors of the Last Judgment:

> Udii una voce, che pur qui mi chiama:
> Surgete, morti, venite al giudizio.

Qual è la voce, che fa risentire
Tutte le genti per ogni contrata?
Surgete, genti, venite ad udire
La gran sentenza che de' esser data;
Or è'l tempo che dessi sceverire,
Chi deve gire—in gloria o in supplizio. . . .
Non trovo loco dove mi nasconda,
Monte nè piano nè grotto o foresta,
Che la veduta di Dio mi circonda,
In ogni loco paura mi presta.
Or mi conviene davanti a lui gire
E riferire—lo mio malefizio . . .[1]

In this, "la veduta di Dio mi circonda," he approaches the sublimity of Holy Writ. In another passage, depicting the Last Judgment and its signs, he adopts the actual form employed by the minstrels, that of the *serventese*, and at the same time the formulæ that were usual with the popular reciters, such as the invocation, "Al nome d'Iddio santo omnipotente" . . . the address to the public, "Vogliovi raccontar lo convenente Che dice la Scrittura che non mente," and the close, "Or avemo finita questa istoria. O alto Dio, condunne a quella gloria." . . . But in the description of the terrible natural phenomena that will precede the Judgment, his manner rises to true grandeur:

Tutti li monti staranno abbassati
E l' aire strette e i venti conturbati,
E' l mare mugirà da tutti i lati,
Con l' aque lor staran fermi adunati
I fiumi ad aspettare.
Allora udrai dal ciel trombe sonare,
E tutti morti vedrai suscitare,
Avanti al tribunal di Cristo andare,
E' l foco ardente per l' aria volare
Con gran velocitate.[2]

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[1] I heard a voice, that is always calling me here: "Rise up, ye dead, come to judgment." What voice is it that awakens all people in every region? Rise up, ye people, come to hear the great sentence that is to be passed; now is the time when shall be separated who is to go to glory and who to punishment . . . I find no place wherein to hide myself, neither mountain nor plain, neither cavern nor wood; for the sight of God surrounds me and fills me with dread in every place. Now I am forced to come before him, and to admit my misdeeds.

[2] All the mountains will be levelled, and the air thick and the winds disturbed, and the sea will roar on all sides; with their united waters

Jacopone's satirical poems are also frequently exceedingly effective. In these he lends his voice to express the general indignation, and becomes the organ of the feeling spread among the people, whether he is attacking Boniface, or directing his wrath against the wicked clergy, and making the Church and Christ themselves lament the corruption of the hierarchy that has taken the place of the former piety: "Piange la Ecclesia, piange e dolura" (at the election of Clement V.), and "Jesù Cristo se lamenta De la Chiesa sua romana." Jacopone also tried the didactic poetry that was so popular in those times. In a long poem he moralises, stringing together proverbs and proverbial sayings, employing the same stanzas of four lines rhyming together, and consisting of long verses with a sharp cæsura, that were used by Fra Giacomino and Bonvesin. For example (stanza 63):

> Di vite torta e piccola nasce l' uva matura;
> Abete dritto ed arduo senza frutto ha statura:
> Considera più l' opera che la grande figura;
> Facera l' ape picciola e mele con dolzura.[1]

Thus we find in Jacopone indications of a versatile talent, but we must look for them. They are scattered, and not a single poem is perfect throughout. From the heights of true poetry, he quickly descends again to coarseness and triviality. With verses full of energy are mingled languid and prosaic lines; in the midst of isolated magnificent traits are introduced long moralisations, speculative in tone, which weaken the effect, or he loses himself in theological and mystical subtleties to the verge of unintelligibility. His art is still in a primitive state of development, and he proceeds without tact or discrimination; he did not, indeed, aim at artistic effects, but merely desired to write in a simple manner on edifying subjects. And for that reason he does

the rivers will stand still in expectation. Then thou wilt hear trumpets sound from heaven, and shalt see all the dead rise and go before the judgment-seat of Christ, and the glowing fire rushing through the air with great swiftness.

[1] From a small and twisted vine arises the ripe grape; the straight tall fir-tree has size without fruit: consider rather the work, than the size of the stature; the small bee makes wax and sweet honey.

not avoid even revolting themes. Asceticism delights in things that are hideous and disgusting, which serve as an antidote to the allurements of the sensual and beautiful; and so the ascetic poet gives no heed to the boundaries of good taste. Jacopone describes illnesses, and, in order to bring out forcibly the nothingness of mankind, depicts a scene of birth, with its unæsthetic details and the uncleanness of the suckling child ("O vita penosa"). In the dialogue between the living and the dead man, "Quando t' allegri, uomo d' altura," he shows us the corpse in its fearful state of corruption, devoured by worms, with bare skull, empty sockets, without nose, and with its stench. Contemporary art likewise did not shrink from such subjects, and Ozanam fitly compared Jacopone's representation with that of the three corpses in the large fresco of the "Triumph of Death" in the *Campo Santo* of Pisa.

The popular tendency towards the dialogue which we encountered in the religious and moral poetry of Northern Italy, is also to be found among the *laudesi* of Umbria, and here it gave rise to the formation of a new *genre*. To return again to Jacopone, his works contain one of the numerous disputes between the soul and the body of the sinner on the day of the Last Judgment ("O capo infracidato"), and a dialogue between a living and a dead man, to which reference has just been made. One poem, "O Signor Cristo pietoso," describes a debate on the sinner before God's judgment-seat, with the speeches of the devil and of the guardian angel, where the irony in the words of the former is remarkable. A poem that is allegorical and symbolical in subject is partly in narrative and partly in dialogue form. It treats of the salvation of the sinner. Mercy sends Penitence to his aid, but her efforts are vain: the fallen one is not able to raise himself up again with his own strength. Now Mercy prays on his behalf before the throne of God. Justice is opposed to this, as the punishment was well merited; but the Son of God, filled with love for the soul, satisfies both Justice and Mercy by taking upon himself the expiatory punishment. In another poem, Christ seeks his bride, the soul, which has departed from him, and suffers for it by redeeming it; this is in the form of a dialogue between Christ, the angels, and the soul. Biblical subjects also were treated

by the poet in this manner—such as Christ in Emmaus among his disciples, or Christ's crucifixion, where the Saviour himself, the Virgin, and a third person (probably John) speak, and at the same time also the noisy mob, which clamours for the execution of the sentence. Now in these poems, in general, an innovation is to be noted, which appears superficial, but was important in its results. Fra Jacopone does not indicate the change of speech in the verses, as was done by Bonvesin and the others, but, as a rule, this change is either not denoted at all, as being clear from the context, or the names of the interlocutors are placed over the speeches, outside the text. In the recital, therefore, one had only to let different persons speak, and one had the beginning of the drama, for the completion of which nothing was wanting save the scenic apparatus. And this transition from the *lauda*, that was merely sung, to theatrical representation, was actually effected by the fraternities of the *Disciplinati*, who followed as their models the similar attempts in the Latin tongue, which had been in existence for some time.

Scenic spectacles, which had been violently opposed by Christianity at the close of the period of antiquity, had nevertheless soon recommenced to flourish, and, what is more, in the bosom of the Church itself. Catholic worship already contained in its solemn ceremonial a number of theatrical elements. The sacrifice of the mass was originally a continual symbolical suggestion of the actions and suffering of Christ. Subsequently, in order to make these appear more actual, a real representation of the sacred events was added on solemn days, especially at Easter; this was an effective instrument wherewith to engage the imagination of the spectators in the interests of faith. These earliest liturgical dramas, as they have been called, were closely connected with the Divine service, and, forming an integral part thereof, they were, of course, composed in Latin; they adhered quite closely to the text of the Bible, and, indeed, often adopted its very phrases. The performers were the clergy, who, however, already strove to make the representation appear actual by means of costumes and by an indication, more or less complete, of the localities. Later on the drama became more independent, and was, in spite of the

sacred themes, and together with its didactic and edifying aims, made a vehicle for entertaining the people, and for satisfying their curiosity and love of spectacle. For this purpose a freer movement was introduced in the dialogue, the number of the personages was increased, the themes were made more varied, and finally, when the drama went over into the hands of the laity, the vulgar tongues were employed in the place of the Latin, in the case of productions which were intended essentially to attract the people. In this form the mystery-play appears in France as early as the twelfth century in the "Adam," and in the fragment of the Resurrection, and at the same period in Spain, in the "Misterio de los tres Reyes Magos." In Italy, as usual, the Latin offered a more stubborn resistance than elsewhere. At Easter of the year 1244, the Passion and Resurrection of Christ was performed in Padua, in the *Prato della Valle*—in the open air, therefore. The reports, it is true, do not say anything about the language employed, but the reference is of such a kind that we must assume it to have been Latin. The same applies to the great cyclical performance that was given by priests on three consecutive days in 1298 and 1303 at Cividale in Friuli, in the palace of the Patriarch, and the subject of which was the Creation of the first man, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Passion, and the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the coming of the Anti-Christ, and that of Christ for the Last Judgment. The first representations in the Italian language with which we are acquainted are those of the Umbriam *laudesi*. We do not know whether the dialogues of Jacopone were intended for performance; but certainly many others were, which Monaci found in the collection of Old Umbrian *laude* by *Disciplinati*, among the sacred poems that were merely sung; and these formed the basis of his important researches into the origins of the Italian Drama. Here the movements and actions accompanying the dialogue are expressly indicated by Latin notes (*didascalia*); and the existence of a scenic apparatus, though one of a very simple nature, is proved by the inventories of the *Confraternita di S. Domenico* in Perugia, which have been published by Monaci. In these are mentioned, in addition to numerous costumes, also nails from the Cross, the pillar to which the

Saviour was bound, and the dove of the Holy Spirit. It is again impossible to determine exactly the time at which the transition from the *lauda* that was merely sung, to the *lauda* that was represented on the stage, took place. The collections of the poems date from the fourteenth century, but in these we do not possess the original manuscripts, so that we shall not be wrong in ascribing many of the pieces to the end of the thirteenth century, as Monaci does.

These Umbrian *laude* represent the theatre in a more primitive stage, and resemble the liturgical drama more closely than, for example, the French "Adam." The performance was still held in the church or oratory at the time of Divine service, and closely connected with it. Each of the representations is intended for a particular festival, as is shown by the superscriptions, and the subject-matter is, accordingly, always adapted to one of these, as, for example, the Passion, Christ's appearance among His Disciples, Christ and the believing Centurion, and so on. Monaci thought that the Latin liturgical dramas might be regarded as the sources from which these were adapted; but D'Ancona made it appear more probable that they had come direct from the texts of the liturgy, and that the Latin pieces in general supplied only the stimulus and the model for the dramatisation, but not the actual subject-matter. Frequently the dialogue is only a paraphrase of the words of the Bible. Still, the longer ones do not lack original additions and extensions, as, for example, the "Laus pro nativitate domini," which, like Jacopone's poem on this subject, attracts by reason of its simple tone, and shows a genuine popular tendency towards isolated traits of realism. Here we see the old Joseph, who has come with Mary to Bethlehem, going from door to door, seeking shelter, and how he is sent away by one after the other, so that they are forced to take refuge in a stable. When the shepherds come to worship, Mary, lamenting her poverty, entreats them for a little cloth in which to wrap the child; these excuse themselves by telling of the hurriedness of their departure on learning the tidings of the birth of the Saviour, and then give her their cloaks, and beg of her not to scorn them with disgust. The greatest impression is again made by the representation of the Last Judgment, for the reason

that it produced the most violent effect at that period on the minds of the spectators, who actually had the terrible sight before their eyes, however imperfect the scenery might be. The believing public of the Middle Ages could not fail to be moved to their innermost souls when they saw the damned entreating the Virgin, and, in their terror, clutching hold of her garment, and when even she did not succeed in obtaining mercy from her Son, who spoke the terrible words: "It is time for deeds and not for threats. Your dwelling shall be the fire, and may this be your abode of rest, ye who loved the world that causes pain":

> Tempo è da facte e non da menaccie:
> L' arbergo vostro serà el fuoco,
> E quisto sia vostro reposo,
> Ch' amaste el mondo doloroso.

The name of these religious spectacles at first remained the same as that of the *genre* which had given rise to it—namely, *lauda*: they were religious songs in dramatised form. The metre is also identical, that is to say, either the *sesta rima*, consisting of verses of eight or nine syllables, or, here again, the more usual form of the *ballata* with the *ripresa*, the final rhyme of which is repeated in the endings of all the stanzas. The latter arrangement was undoubtedly an inconvenient impediment for the dialogue as soon as this became somewhat extended; and so the drama soon got rid of it, preferring forms that were more suitable and more elastic.

From Umbria the representations spread to other parts of Italy, together with the fraternities of the *Disciplinati*. Their existence in the South is proved by Monaci's discovery, in a fourteenth century MS., of a number of such *laude* in the Abbruzese dialect of Aquila. The further development of the drama falls in a later period: even the old *divozioni*, a form that represents the next stage of development after the *lauda*, belong to the fourteenth century, perhaps to the second half of it. In the fifteenth century, the *genre*, under the name of *rappresentazione*, attained the acme of its fertility. Only one spectacle has still to be mentioned here, although, strictly speaking, it does not belong to the history of literature. Giovanni Villani narrates (viii. 70),

that on May, 1304, a festival was instituted on boats by the Ponte alla Carraia in Florence, for the entertainment of the people, on which occasion hell was represented "with flames and other punishments and torments, with men who, in the guise of demons, were terrible to behold, and others, in the shape of naked souls, who appeared to be real persons, and on these were inflicted various tortures with very great cries, and din, and shouting, so that it was painful and terrible to hear and to see." According to Vasari, this was arranged by the merry Florentine painter, Buffalmacco and his friends; the spectacle, by the way, ended in a tragic manner, for the bridge gave way under the weight of the spectators, and many were drowned. The performance was evidently a mere pantomime, without any speaking, and therefore not a drama. According to the description of Antonio Pucci in his "Centiloquio," the souls were even represented merely by "bellows filled with straw and by ox bladders full of wind," which is indirectly due to Villani's clumsy construction,[1] and over each division was written, *In questo luogo son puniti i tali* ("Here are punished so and so"). But it is to be observed how the well-known theme, the representation of hell, had already become a subject of popular entertainment to the Florentines, who were always scoffingly inclined, though it could not fail, at the same time, to have a more serious effect on the spectators, as is testified by Villani and Pucci.

[1] For although the word *uomini* appears also to refer to the souls, this is not the case: he says, *che pareano persone*, and so they could not *be* persons.

VIII

PROSE LITERATURE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

AS with the other nations, so, too, in Italy prose begins later than poetry. Of course the use of the vulgar tongue for business purposes, and for the requirements of everyday life, is in all probability much earlier, dating back even farther than the first attempts at poetry in the native dialect. For such purposes Latin must have long been inadequate; the use of that form of speech which was on everyone's lips became necessary, or, at any rate, vulgar words were mixed with the traditional Latin formulæ. The grammarian Boncompagno says (between 1215 and 1226): "Mercatores in suis epistolis verborum ornatum non requirunt, quia fere omnes et singuli per idiomata propria seu vulgaria vel per corruptum latinum ad invicem sibi scribunt et rescribunt, intimando sua negocia et cunctos rerum eventus." And another grammarian, Guido Faba of Bologna, about the year 1229, gives in his "Epistolario," together with the Latin model letters, a whole series also of Italian ones, which are therefore probably the earliest specimens of connected Italian prose we possess. They show the marked influence of the Bolognese dialect; still, it is not the dialect in its pure form, but transformed already for literary purposes, and, what is more remarkable, there appear also to be traces of the love-poetry in the Provençal manner. Genuine, not merely forged writings of the same kind, have come down to us also from a somewhat later period. The "Ricordi di una famiglia Senese" are a collection of sheets on which are written down the expenditure and revenue of the house of a certain Matasala di Spinello de' Lambertini, between the years 1231 and 1262, that is to say, a dry register of sums of money and objects that had been bought and sold, but still of importance as a specimen

of the Sienese dialect of the time. The same value attaches to the "Lettere volgari del Secolo XIII., scritte da Senesi," a small collection of private letters, commercial and partly also political in character, written by Sienese merchants from France and to that country; the first letter is dated 1253, but the most important belong to the years 1260-1269, or still later.

Writings of this nature do not in reality belong to the history of literature, and they have been mentioned solely with the view of pointing out the early existence of a certain kind of prose, which was nothing but the living speech written down in cases where it was indispensable. Its actual literary use represents a more advanced stage, for which far more care and a definite intention on the part of the writer are necessary. We must therefore regard as the earliest monument of literary prose the letters of Guittone, with which we are already acquainted, and which are in themselves so entirely independent of the poetical usage; the one addressed to the Florentines was probably, as we saw, written about the year 1260. To 1268 belongs the first translation of Albertano da Brescia, which will be discussed further on, and a second one to 1278; later are the works of Giamboni and of Ristoro of Arezzo, the "Conti di Antichi Cavalieri," and the "Novellino." But it would serve no purpose to adhere exactly to the chronological order, which is still far too uncertain, and so we shall rather group together the monuments according to their subject-matter and literary character.

The "Novellino," or, as the book was entitled by its first editor, the "Cento Novelle Antiche," mark the beginning of a *genre* which was destined to attain to an extraordinary degree of fertility in Italy: it is the oldest collection of tales. The aim of the little book was stated by the author or compiler himself at the beginning: "As the noble and high-born are, in their words and deeds, as it were, a mirror for the lesser ones, and as their words are more pleasing since they come from a more delicate instrument, we recall here some flowers (*i.e.*, select examples) of words, of fair acts of courtesy and of fair replies, and of fair deeds of valour, of fair gifts and of fair loves, such as were formerly achieved by many." The collection contains a hundred tales, as appears

from the title. Some of them treat chivalrous themes, and tell of Tristan and Isolde, of King Melidaus, and of the Lady of Shalott, who died of love for Lancelot; in others we have stories of heroes and sages of antiquity, such as Alexander the Great, the sons of Priam, Thales of Miletus, Aristotle, Seneca, Cato, and Trajan—all these curiously transformed and travestied according to the popular medieval tradition. There is Narcissus (No. 46), who has become a "good and fair knight," while Pythagoras is a philosopher in Spain, who has compiled an astrological table (33). Socrates is a wise Roman, and replies to the embassy sent by the Sultan from Greece (61); Hercules traverses forests and slays lions and bears, but is not able to tame his wicked wife (70); Nero condemns his master Seneca to death, as revenge for the beating he received from him when he was his pupil (71). Then we have stories of biblical history, of Balaam, David, Solomon, and Christ himself; also some legends, such as that of Saint Paulinus, who gave himself up as prisoner for the son of the poor woman, when he could not help her in any other way, and of Peter the publican, who gave all he had to the poor, and had himself sold, so that they might have the proceeds. Other tales, again, narrate true or invented occurrences relating to historical personages of quite recent times—to Saladin, Charles of Anjou, and King Conrad IV. in his youth, to Italian magnates and princes, such as Jacopino Rangone, Paolo Traversari, and Ezzelino, and especially to the Emperor Frederick II., whose powerful figure had made a great impression on the time, and in whom the author shows an exceptionally keen interest. Then we have persons who are well known to us from Provençal literature. Thus, Messer Imberal del Balzo, *i.e.*, En Barral of Baux, Viscount of Marseilles, the patron of the troubadours, who looks for traces of birds, receives a humorous reply from an old woman. The poet Guillem de Berguedan, who has offended all the noble ladies of Provence, saves himself from their vengeance through an ingenious idea. Of the young King of England, the son of Henry II., acts of chivalry and generosity are narrated, and of Bertran de Born, his behaviour during captivity after the death of the young King; of Richart de Barbezieu—in this case, it is true, under the

name of a certain Alamanno (64)—we are told how he lost his lady's favour, and how he won it again. There is one instance of a fable of animals, that of the mule, the fox, and the wolf, where the latter wished to read the letters on the hoofs of the former (94). For us, however, the most interesting are the tales which reflect contemporary manners, the stories concerning the author's immediate surroundings, such as that of Bito of Florence, who manages to get a farthing out of the miserly Ser Frulli without his noticing it (96); of the man who told the endless tale (89); of the peasant who came into the town in order to buy clothes, and was beaten for having no money (95); of the clever woman, whose tart was eaten by the cat, while the mouse got away (92). They are poor jokes, but they serve to show how easily the public was satisfied in those days, and we note in them a tendency towards a more vivid conception of reality. Here, too, we already find the scandalous little stories of women and priests, which subsequently became the favourite theme of the short tales. Thus, we have Piovano Porcellino, who caught the Bishop Mangiadore in the act of which the latter wanted to accuse him (54); the doctor of Toulouse, who married the niece of the Archbishop, but sent her home again after two months, owing to an unexpected event, and justified his action to the furious uncle in a witty reply (49). Further, there are the two exemplary father confessors (91 and 93), and the grieving widow, who consoles herself with the man set to watch the body of a hanged criminal, and eventually fixes the corpse of her own husband on the gallows (59)—that is, the widely-diffused story of the matron of Ephesus.

This collection of tales is, therefore, a union of all possible elements, of the most varied kind. The author probably did not invent a single one of the stories himself. They are either such as were in everyone's mouth at the time, or such as he could take from books, from the Latin collections of tales that were the common property of nations in the Middle Ages, such as the "Disciplina Clericalis" of Petrus Alfonsus, and the "Gesta Romanorum" (that is, if these are earlier than the "Novellino" itself), and from the biographies of the troubadours. Finally, the Bible and the chronicles probably supplied several contributions. Alessandro D'Ancona made a study of these sources of the book in a very valuable

treatise; for more than a third of the tales, he noted the passages in which the same or a similar theme is treated in other ancient monuments. This study was instructive, as clearly showing that the author so often merely re-told stories that were spread far and wide throughout the entire literature of Europe. Of course, D'Ancona was not able to discover the direct sources for each individual tale, and thus to obtain an idea of the way in which it had been used, owing to the poverty of the mode of exposition employed in the book, and of the lack of details that might serve as guiding links for the discovery of the more immediate origin of the stories.

For these narratives of the "Novellino" are short and rapid sketches, drawn in a few rough strokes, which merely give the actual facts, without working them out in any way. Of course, the single tales vary greatly in point of detail. Although meagreness and dryness are the rule, still these qualities are not so exaggerated in the story of Bito and Frulli, in the "Novella d'Amore" (99), and in others, as, for example, in those of Pietro Tavoliere (17), of the lady of Gascony and the king of Cyprus (51), of the Emperor Frederick, who desires to put his wife's fidelity to the test (100), of the merchant and the coins (98), and others that occupy only a few lines, and the brevity of which is carried to an almost unnatural degree. This is, however, due to the anecdotic character of the stories, the interest of which is mostly concentrated on one point. They frequently end with a witty saying, a clever repartee, or an ingenious idea. At times, they also serve to point a moral or at least a general maxim—a quality which the tales may have derived from their sources; for the Latin collections of this kind, such as the "Disciplina Clericalis" and the "Gesta Romanorum," were also moral and didactic in aim. The mode of expression corresponds to the manner of exposition: the sentences are short and clumsy, each of them standing alone by itself, after the manner of the first beginnings of prose, whose elements place themselves one beside the other, without blending into one harmonious whole, such as we find in the structure of the sentence when it has reached a more advanced stage of artistic development.

Whenever the tales allude to historical events that are known to us and to which a date can be assigned, they do

not go beyond the close of the thirteenth century, so that the collection was probably made in the closing years of the thirteenth century or at the beginning of the fourteenth. It has been assumed that it was compiled by degrees, and in different sections, but as yet no convincing proof has been brought against the theory that the whole is due to one author. This was, without doubt, a Florentine, as is shown by the language, which, it is true, contains some Gallicisms or Provençalisms, but no dialectical elements; the subjects of several of the tales also point to Florence. The authorship has been assigned to certain definite writers, to Francesco da Barberino, Brunetto Latini and Andrea Lancia; however, all these suggestions are very improbable, and need no longer be seriously considered.

The little book had, and still has, a great reputation as a model of style, because it manages to say so many things in such few words. It is true that this brevity and rapidity at times adds to the point of the anecdote and brings out more strongly the flavour of the fundamental motive. But, on the other hand, there is a lack of warmth and colouring, and we have skeletons rather than vital works of art The tale does not, as yet, possess an individual form; the bare subject, without artistic form, is intended to produce all the effect, and even that is not the creation of the author. Soon after the composition of the work, this dryness and meagreness no longer gave general satisfaction, and an attempt was made to enlarge the tale in point of fullness and detail. A MS. of the National Library at Florence, the so-called Codex Panciatichi, contains a collection of one hundred and fifty-six pieces, which is, however, made up of two parts th t were originally independent of each other. The majority of the stories of the first part are the same as those in the "Novellino," with slight variations in form and in the order followed. The author of the second part worked with a text which agreed more exactly with the "Novellino" than that of the first part; he began by faithfully reproducing twenty-seven of its tales, and then he added longer ones, and also made considerable additions to some which he subsequently took from the "Novellino." But this version is scarcely a success. The text has not been enriched with vivid and interesting details, but merely diluted. A comparison between the

third tale of the "Novellino" and the one hundred and forty-third of the MS. Panciatichi will suffice to make this clear. The subject and action of the former are as follows. King Philip orders a wise Greek to be held in captivity. A noble steed is sent him from Spain, and, on questioning the wise man concerning its value, he receives the answer that it is a splendid animal, but that it had been nourished on asses' milk. The King sends to Spain and learns that this had really been the case, the mare having died in giving birth to the colt. He is amazed, and orders half a loaf to be given daily to the sage at the expense of the court. On another occasion the King has the prisoner fetched, in order to show him his jewels and to ask him which is the most valuable of the stones. The sage holds the one that the Emperor had declared to be his favourite against his ear, and says that it contains a worm; the stone is broken and the worm is found. The King is again astounded and orders a whole loaf to be given to the Greek in the future. A few days later the thought occurs to the King that he might be of illegitimate birth. He once again questions his prisoner, who, after some hesitation, reveals to him that he is the son of a baker, whereupon the King's mother, on being taxed with this, confesses it to be true. Finally, the sage at the King's desire explains how he came to know all these things. He recognised that the horse had been nourished on asses' milk, because it allowed its ears to hang, contrary to the nature of horses. The worm in the stone he recognised from the fact that the latter was warm, against the nature of stones. Finally, he recognised the illegitimate descent of the King from the fact that he, contrary to royal nature, rewarded his wisdom not with a city, but with loaves, like a baker. It is one of the best tales in the "Novellino," and a theme which was well adapted for concise treatment: Boccaccio would also not have told it in much greater detail. But the author of the long story in the Codex Panciatichi did not recognise this and retailed the anecdote with a profusion of idle talk: all kinds of useless and superfluous things are introduced, so that it is clear that the author worked with a short story and endeavoured forcibly to extend it wherever this was possible. Who, for example, takes an interest in hearing exactly described how the legates

journey to Spain, how they are well received by the King of Spain, how they return and so on? When it is proved that there was a worm in the stone, is it necessary to say, "Per la volentà di Dio v'era entro e Dio il nodria"? The compiler, in making his version, did not see that the entire value of the story lay in its point, and he let himself go as though it had been a romance or tale of chivalry. But in addition to this he entirely missed the point. In the narrative of the "Novellino" as also in the other versions of a similar theme, namely, in the two stories of the "Thousand and One Nights" (No. 458 *et seq.*), and in that of the Spanish "Libro de Enjemplos" (No. 247) the essential point is always the fact that the acute observer is unacquainted with the signs by which he recognises something that is concealed, and which are not divulged till later. In this way the amazement and curiosity are kept alive till the end. In the long story of the Codex Panciatichi, however, the signs on which the sage bases his replies in the cases of the horse and of the stone are clumsily revealed at the beginning, so that amazement at his incredible omniscience is no longer possible. And in the same way, he begins by revealing to the King the whole history of his birth, so that he does not ascertain this merely by deductive reasoning; thus, the halo of his wisdom disappears together with the telling reference to the stinginess of the King, who gave him loaves because he was the son of a baker. Also the other tales have only lost in this version, especially the one concerning Narcissus (No. 144), and this suffices to prove the erroneousness of Bartoli's view, who assumed that these longer versions were the original of the shorter ones. The transformation of the short tale into a rich and brilliant picture was the work of Boccaccio.

It has been noticed that the "Novellino" contains several French and Provençal elements, and even in cases where the author might have taken his themes from other sources, it is not improbable, in view of the literary conditions prevailing at the time, that he obtained many of them by the circuitous route of French versions. Still more extensive, probably, was the process of borrowing in the case of the "Conti di Antichi Cavalieri," consisting of twenty anecdotic tales; they are taken mostly from antiquity (such as those concerning Cæsar, Pompey, Scipio, Fabricius, Regulus and

Brutus, Hector and Agamemnon), and to a lesser extent from medieval history ("Re Giovane," Saladin), and from the legends of chivalry (King Tebaldo, Brunor and Galeotto, *i.e.*, the Galeotto of the Round Table). The longest and fullest of the stories is that of Cæsar. Their general character is similar to that of the "Cento Novelle," and not more archaic: the many scholars who held this latter view were led astray by the Old Aretine dialect in which the tales are written. On the contrary, we have here no narratives that are so monosyllabic as some in the "Novellino." The author is filled with admiration for his heroes; sometimes the memorable utterances of these are set down in the same way as was done at the end of the biographies. The words and deeds are examples of the greatest perfection, models that are intended to spur on to emulation. Bartoli proved that the story of King Tebaldo is taken from the romance of "Fouque de Candie": many passages are absolutely unintelligible till compared with the French original. This leads us to suspect a similar origin for the other tales.

Among the collections of stories that were the common property of nations in the Middle Ages, the most popular and the most widely read was that of the "Seven Wise Masters." Originating in India, it had spread in the West in quite an extraordinary manner, first in Latin and then in vulgar versions, the French one being as usual the earliest, and finally in the translations and adaptations of all the European languages. The special feature of the book is that the tales in it are enclosed as it were in a frame and welded together into a whole by means of a main narrative, as is the case in the other Oriental collection of the "Thousand and One Nights," which is now better known. According to the Western version that is most widely diffused, the beloved wife of the Emperor of Rome dies, leaving him an only son, whom he has educated by seven Wise Men in a tower outside the city, so that he may be out of the way of evil influences. When his education is finished, he is to return to the court; but he and his teachers read in the stars that he is threatened by a great misfortune, which he can avoid only by maintaining silence for seven days. The Emperor, who had been informed of his son's marvellous knowledge, is astonished, on seeing him again, not to hear

a word from his lips, and thinks this is due to timidity, which would disappear in time; accordingly he sends him to the women's apartments. But the second wife of the Emperor, whom he had married in the meantime, and who had already become enamoured of the youth on hearing the reports of his admirable qualities, endeavours to seduce him, and, when he remains cold and dumb, she accuses him, before his father, of the fault of which she had herself been guilty. The Emperor wishes to have him beheaded, but each morning, while the prince is to be taken to the place of execution, one of the seven wise men appears and induces the father to postpone the event by the recital of a story; on the other hand, the Empress strengthens him in his resolution anew every evening, by dint of another tale. This goes on for seven days, till, on the eighth, the prince himself can open his mouth, and tells a story of his own, whereupon his step-mother is forced to confess her guilt and is burnt. The tales of the seven wise men deal chiefly, in accordance with their object, with the falseness and the intrigues of women; the Empress, for her part, raises a warning voice with examples of wicked and ungrateful sons and of hypocrites who deceive with fair speeches. The stories themselves vary in part in the numerous transformations that the collection has undergone; the individual details also of the principal narrative are more or less changed. What pleased so generally in the work was, as Comparetti justly observed, together with the satire directed against women that was so popular in the Middle Ages, the convenience of the frame-work, which always permitted new stories to be included in the place of the old ones without disturbing the unity of the plan. An Italian version which was published by D'Ancona, "Il libro dei Sette Savii di Roma," belongs to the thirteenth century, according to the opinion of the editor, and is only a translation or a very servile adaptation of a French original, being closely related to certain versions which have come down to us; in point of language, too, there are many traces of this. From a very similar original is translated another Italian adaptation which is preserved in a MS. of the fourteenth century which had long disappeared; not long ago it was discovered in England by Varnhagen and published by him. A different type is

found in Northern Italy, the earliest known representative of which was shown by Mussafia to be a Latin version that was probably composed by an Italian. Of this latter text, or of one differing but slightly from it, there are two Italian renderings, belonging to a somewhat later period, and to the same or a closely related source goes back a very clumsy poem in stanzas of eight verses, with strong Venetian colouring and written in the fifteenth century, as also the still later "Compassionevoli Avvenimenti di Erasto," a transformation, in the classical manner, of the old book, according to the taste of the Renaissance. But in the case of the Northern Italian version also, on which all these works are based, Pio Rajna showed that it was related to the French adaptations, though it had altered these more freely; and he assumes that the Latin text discovered by Mussafia is a translation, or rather an abbreviated version, of a Venetian original or of a French one which was written in Italy and which is now lost.

The legend of chivalry of the Breton cycle, which was so frequently introduced into the short tales, was more fully treated in a prose monument the date of which is not easy to determine, and which might even belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century, but nevertheless deserves mention in this period of literary beginnings as being the earliest Italian version of these legends which were destined to play so important a part: this is the "Tavola Rotonda" contained in a MS. of the "Biblioteca Ricciardana" in Florence. Nannucci, who first made the work known by printing several specimens of it, considered it to be a translation from the French, and it must, at all events, be very closely related to the French Arthurian romances.—The legend of Troy was, as has already been casually remarked, treated by Guido delle Colonne of Messina in his Latin "Historia Trojana," which was begun before the year 1272 and finished, after a long interruption, in 1287. The author, who is probably identical with the lyric poet already known to us, pretends that it is a historical narrative based on ancient accounts, whereas his actual source was the "Roman de Troie" of Benoît de Ste. More. By his pedantic seriousness he robbed his original of its entire poetic charm, but for that very reason his work, which thus bore a strong stamp of authenticity, became one of the most popular

medieval versions of the legend: partly from it, partly directly from its French source, are derived the various Italian versions of the Trojan war that belong to the fourteenth century.—Of a French history of Cæsar, which clothed the narrative of Sallust's "Catiline" and of Cæsar's "Commentaries," as also the accounts of Lucan and of Suetonius, in the garb of the medieval romance of chivalry, there are two Italian versions. The one, which used to be known under the ill-fitting title of "Volgarizzamento di Lucano," and which does not commence till Cæsar's passage over the Rubicon, though, doubtless, it originally contained also the beginning of the romance, is a reproduction, often a literal translation of the original, whereas the "Fatti di Cesare," as the other was called by its editor, mostly represents the French text in a strongly abbreviated form. The longer version is contained in a MS. of the "Ricciardana," which is dated 1313 and appears to be the autograph; and so these two monuments probably also belong to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

From France, too, come some religious narratives, the "Dodici Conti Morali," ascetic stories of miracles and conversions, which always close with a moral, in the manner of sermons. The language shows some peculiarities of the Sienese dialect, which may, however, be due to the scribe. Soon after the publication of the little book, Mussafia showed that one of these tales is a translation of an old French *conte dévot*, while Bartoli proved the same of another, and Reinhold Köhler finally found the originals of eight more in the legends of the "Vie des Anciens Pères." The French is frequently reproduced word for word, but in other cases the Italian author allowed himself a freer hand.

And so here, too, in the oldest prose literature, wherever it is a question of subjects for narrative, we note the extreme sterility of Italy in the early periods, and, in consequence, her dependence on the rich literature of her French neighbour. But though there was a lack of legends and invented tales, the national history, on the other hand, supplied plentiful material for prose narrative; but the chronicles did not lay aside their Latin dress till later, and it is now exceedingly doubtful whether the vulgar tongue was used for the purposes of history within the thirteenth century, at all

events for any considerable effort. Of writings that may with certainty be ascribed to this period, we have now nothing save a short chronicle in the dialect of Pisa, loose annalistic notes for the years 1006-1276, put together without any regard for order, which were discovered by Enea Piccolomini in the *libro di ricordi* of a Pisan merchant, and published by him under the title "Cronichetta Pisana, scritta in volgare nel 1279." Some other more extensive works, which used formerly to be ascribed to this period, have been proved to be later forgeries.

The "Diurnali" of Matteo Spinello of Giovenazzo were supposed to be the notes of a contemporary concerning the events that occurred in his country between the years 1249 and 1268, written down in his native Apulian dialect. But the researches of Wilhelm Bernhardi proved that the monument was aprocryphal. Events are recorded in it which either did not take place at all, or which, at any rate, occurred altogether differently from the manner here described, and this betokens an ignorance of the true state of things which is incredible in the case of a contemporary, especially as the author frequently maintains that he had seen the affairs with his own eyes. Besides, the chronology is in such a state of confusion, that in order to put it right, it is necessary to make continual and exceedingly violent changes and transpositions in the text.

Not much stronger is the case for the chronicle, which was supposed to be the earliest treating of Florence in the vulgar tongue — that of the Malespini, which was first printed by the Giunti at Florence in the year 1568. A certain Ricordano Malespini relates the history of the town, from the time of its foundation till the year 1282, the period from that date till 1286 being treated by one Giacotto, who was supposed to be the nephew of the other. Certain allusions by the authors themselves showed that the events were at any rate chronicled some time after their occurrence. Ricordano boasts that he worked with very ancient documents, dating from the time when the Romans destroyed Fiesole, and on these he bases his account of the foundation of Florence, with all the fables that had become attached to it through the popular tradition following in the paths of the classics, with the fables of Catiline, who overcame King Fiorino and

married his wife Belisea, of Teverina, Fiorinos's daughter, who was carried off by a centurion, and others of the same kind. For the periods that were closer to his own, he shows himself more sober and more faithful to historical truth. But it was always considered remarkable that his reports tallied closely, not alone in points of fact, but even in the words, with Giovanni Villani, the admirable Florentine chronicler, who wrote some decades later; and so it was said that Villani, following a custom which, indeed, we frequently find in the Middle Ages, had stolen from his predecessor without naming him. However, Scheffer-Boichorst's study, "Die Geschichte der Malespini, eine Fälschung," published in 1870, proved the exact contrary to be the case. Going back to the sources of the chronicles, Scheffer-Boichorst found that Villani follows them far more closely than the supposed Malespini, in all cases where there can be a doubt as to which was the plagiarist, and that his work contains many data of the most diverse origin that are wanting in Malespini, whereas the latter gives no real historical fact which is not also contained in Villani. Villani's narrative is clear and consistent; not so that of Malespini, in which occur also actual contradictions. Scheffer-Boichorst therefore rightly declared the work of Malespini to be apocryphal: he thinks that it may have been composed in the second half of the fourteenth century, for the purpose of flattering some of the great Florentine families, especially that of the Buonaguisi, whose names the author often introduced into Villani's text. It is a curious fact that the penetrating scholar, Giuseppe Todeschini, came to precisely the same result in a work which was written as early as the year 1853, though it was not published till after the appearance of Scheffer-Boichorst's book.

The true historian of the period, the one who gives us the most complete picture of its spirit and culture, wrote in Latin, but in a Latin that resembles Italian in the vocabulary and constructions, so that the author's native tongue pierces through and imparts vivacity to his mode of expression. This historian is Fra Salimbene of Parma. He composed several chronicles and treatises, but of these nothing is preserved beyond one of the former, and even there the beginning is lacking. As far as we possess it, it treats the history of the author's native city, that of Italy and, in part,

that of the world, from 1167 to 1287. The commencement is less minute and largely borrowed from the chronicles of others, notably that of Sicard of Cremona; the great importance of the work begins with the narrative of the events that occurred during the author's lifetime. Salimbene was born in the year 1221, of the distinguished and wealthy family of the Adami. He was irresistibly carried away by the powerful movement of religious exaltation then at its height, and entered the cloister of the Minorites at the age of seventeen. His father, Guido di Adamo, who thus saw his hopes for the continuation of the family frustrated, was deeply grieved. He addressed himself to the Emperor Frederick, in order to get his son back, and Frate Elia, the General of the Order, consented to his return to a secular life. In a conversation, Guido begs his son to avail himself of this permission, entreats him, puts before him, with moving words, the grief of his mother and himself, and finally utters a terrible curse over him. But all is futile. The son remains firm and replies to his father's representations with Biblical sayings. In the following night the Holy Virgin rewards him with a vision: she extends to him and lets him kiss her little babe, because he has professed his faith in her before mankind. After the fashion of the Franciscan monks, he saw much of the world, travelled in France and Italy, became acquainted with many things and knew many people of importance. He was still living in 1288, as is shown by allusions in his chronicle. He says that he wrote this work for his niece, the nun Agnes, at an advanced age, for the greater part in the years 1283 and 1284, with additions made in the following years. And he narrates like an old man, at times one would rather say like an old woman, with a garrulous verbosity and innumerable digressions. At every moment one thing or another occurs to him, that turns him away from the thread of his narrative. From one person he comes to another, because the two were in some way connected. He repeats the same facts over and over again, and is fond of dilating on things that he happened to see, and on people with whom he came into contact. And that is the very reason why he gives as such a quantity of interesting data: his historical figures are endowed with life and movement, because we learn certain personal traits of theirs, or qualities

that are less obvious, certain actions and sayings, on which the other chroniclers of the time lay no stress. Salimbene is religious and superstitious, being convinced of the truth of miracles, visions, and appearances of the saints and the devil. Believing in prophecies, he continually quotes sayings from the Bible as being suitable to certain events and as foretelling them. He was also a zealous believer in the prophecies and doctrines of the Abbot Joachim, till the year 1260, which proved them to be false, in that there were no signs of the expected universal peace. In spite of all this, however, he is keenly interested in secular events, is fond of narrating little stories, buffooneries, and merry pranks; quotes proverbs and popular songs, Latin, Italian, and French; and corroborates his statements by citing the verses of the Goliard Primas, or of his older contemporary, Patechio of Cremona, no less than the words of Holy Writ. He speaks of sermons and of edifying matters, and of holy men, and admires the great piety of King Lewis, but, at the same time, he does not forget to report what he gave the monks for dinner, and enumerates the various dishes. Under the year 1284, he notes that he for the first time ate *raviolos sine crusta de pasta, in festo Sanctæ Claræ*. He mentions the number of fleas there were in March of the year 1285, and quotes verses concerning fleas, bugs, and gnats. And his anecdotic reports are often more effectively humorous than the contemporary *novelle*. Thus, to give only one example, that of the false saint, Albertus of Cremona, *qui fuerat unus vini portator simul et potator, nec non et peccator*, and who was supposed, after his death, to have worked many miracles (1279), so that the people of Parma carried in procession a relic of his that has been consigned to their care, and had it solemnly laid on the altar of the cathedral, where, however, the celebrating priest discovered it to be a piece of garlic.

Salimbene's chronicle is filled with a strong subjectiveness, the expression of a personality with its likes and dislikes. "Salimbene," said Dove, "is the most personal among the historians of the real Middle Ages; what has come down to us from him actually bears the stamp of 'Memoirs.'" And his likes and dislikes are very pronounced. He loves and hates with his soul, and when he is a man's enemy he does not spare him even after death.

See, for example, his obituary notice of the Bishop of Reggio, Guillielmus de Foliano: "Melius fuisset ei si fuisset porcarius vel leprosus, quam quia fuisset episcopus"—and the worse things that follow. His hatred is principally directed against the secular clergy, to whom the mendicant orders were always opposed; at the corruption of the priests he hurls bitter invectives, and does not scruple to tell of them the most scandalous stories. But in this he did nothing but lend his voice to the general indignation of the time, in the same way as Jacopone and, later, Dante, Petrarca, and so many others. And, even though he cannot of course write without party feeling, yet he has a clear eye for political conditions, and often judges them sharply and correctly. We may instance the sensible remarks concerning the war between Genoa and Pisa (p. 305), or concerning the policy of the Popes, who, on the accession of a new Emperor, always endeavour to force from him an extension of their temporal power (p. 282), or those concerning the parties of the Lombard cities that can never come to terms, and struggle against one another with constant change of fortune, like children, when in play they lay one hand on the other's and draw it away in turns, so that the lower becomes the upper (p. 348).

While, then, the Italian historians in the thirteenth century, as a rule, still used the Latin language, and while a work that is so full of life and so closely related to actual events as the chronicle of Salimbene is composed in this tongue, the vulgar idiom, on the other hand, had already found its way into the domains of didactic, scientific, and moral prose literature, where it served as a means of popularisation. In proportion as the communes, in which the citizens gradually obtained the mastery over public affairs, gained in strength, and as the legal and medical studies developed, knowledge, instead of belonging exclusively to the priests, passed more and more into the possession of the laity, and began to exercise a greater influence on society. In the thirteenth century a general endeavour begins to make itself felt to diffuse knowledge, and to make it accessible to all alike, and not merely to scholars. This was the direction taken, above all, by Ser Brunetto Latini in his literary work, who was greatly esteemed by his

contemporaries on account of his many-sided scholarship. Giovanni Villani (viii. 10) says of him: "He was a great philosopher and a perfect master of rhetoric," and further on he assigns to him the honourable distinction of having been "the beginner and master in refining the Florentines and in teaching them how to speak well, and how to guide and rule our republic according to policy." He may have been born about the year 1210, as a daughter of his was married as early as 1248; in the years 1254 and 1255 he figures as notary in public documents. In 1260 the Guelph party, which saw its supremacy threatened by the power of King Manfred, sent him for help to the court of Alfonso X. of Castile. During his absence the Florentines were defeated at Monteaperti; the heads of the Guelphs had to leave the city, Brunetto also was not able to return. He sought refuge in France, and there he wrote his great encyclopædia, the "Trésor," in the language of the country in which he was staying, that is to say, in French, for the reason, among others, as he expressly says, that his work might thereby become more widely known. It was intended not only for Italian readers, but also for those of other nations. Brunetto probably remained in France till after the battle of Benevento, which restored the supremacy in Italy to the Guelphs. In 1296 he was chief notary of the Vicar-General of Tuscany, who had been appointed by Charles of Anjou, and in 1270 he came to Pisa in the same capacity. In a document of the year 1273 he bears the title, *scriba Consiliorum Communis Florentiæ*, that is to say, he was Chancellor, or, as it was then called, *dittatore* of the republic, charged with drawing up the public records; Villani also mentions his having held this office. In 1280 he is named among the sureties for the peace that had been concluded between the parties of the city by the Cardinal Latino, and on October 13th, 1284, he was one of the two syndics for his city in the conclusion of the league between Florence, Lucca, and Genoa against Pisa. In 1287 (from August 15th till October 15th) he sat in the Assembly of the Priors. He also often took an active part in the counsels of the commune. He died at an advanced age in 1294 or at the beginning of 1295. Brunetto is of special importance also on account of the relations in which he

stood to Dante. To judge from the dutiful and loving words which the latter addresses to him in the fifteenth canto of the "Inferno," he was scarcely, as was formerly believed, his teacher in the literal meaning of the word, but still his paternal friend and adviser, and one who exercised a great influence on his intellectual development. From the "Trésor" of Brunetto, Dante, in common with all his contemporaries, derived no small portion of his knowledge.

The encyclopædias of the Middle Ages served to spread knowledge, in that from the books that were at that time so difficult of access they extracted what appeared to be the most essential features of every branch of science, and gave it to the reader collected together in a more convenient form. The oldest work of this kind known is the "Imago Mundi" of Honorius of Autun (*circa* 1120). Far more splendid in scope is the "Speculum Universale" of Vincent of Beauvais, whose industry as a compiler is simply astounding; this was written about the middle of the thirteenth century. Both these works were composed in Latin; but the character of these scientific compilations, that were intended for a large public, obviously pointed to the employment of the vulgar tongue. To the year 1245 belongs a French "Image du Monde" in octosyllabic verses, the greater part of which goes back to the work of Honorius of Autun. Brunetto's book, too, is one of the earliest attempts at an encyclopædia in the vulgar tongue, and its success is vouched for by the large number of manuscripts in which it it has been preserved; Chabaille was acquainted with twenty-eight of them in the libraries of Paris alone. The early additions and interpolations to be found in the work are another important proof of its popularity; everyone endeavoured, according to his taste and lights, to add to the sum of knowledge that had been collected.

Brunetto Latini called his book the "Treasure;" for, he says, as a prince collects a treasure of the most valuable things, so as to have it ready for future needs, in the same way this work was drawn together into a *Summa*, from all the branches of philosophy. According to this conception, philosophy comprises all that is known, and he divides the whole into three main sections. The first book treats of

theoretical philosophy, that is, of all things in so far as they are merely objects of knowledge, as they are known. The second, dealing with the virtues and vices, belongs to practical philosophy, inasmuch as it gives instructions as to acting rightly; but, at the same time, it also contains, as the author declares, elements from the third part of philosophy, namely, logic, because the causes of the moral determinations are also examined. The third book comprises rhetoric and politics, that is to say, another portion of practical philosophy. The theoretical exposition of knowledge in the first book starts with the definition and division of philosophy itself, then discusses the creation of the world, the essence of God and of nature, of the angels and of men, treats of body and soul, of reason, of law, divine and human, of those that protect and administer it, and in this way comes to the origin of kings and of kingdoms, thus affording an opportunity of introducing a sketch of the world's history, sacred and profane, from Adam down to the author's own days. The data of this narrative are short and scrappy, largely mingled with fables and very badly arranged, as is to be expected from a compendious Universal History in those times. The work originally ended with the expulsion of the Guelphs from Florence (1260), but Brunetto subsequently brought it down to the death of Conradin, and at the same time considerably enlarged it, making use of the world-chronicle of Martinus Polonus, which appeared at that time. The chapters on Frederick II. and Manfred are inspired by the bitter hatred to be expected from Brunetto as a follower of the Guelph party.

This mainly historical section is followed by the one dealing with physics. First, we have discourses on the general constitution of the universe, the form of earth and heaven and the motion of the stars—that is to say, astronomy. This is followed by geography, for which the author relies almost entirely on Solinus, and by a short treatise on agriculture, based on Palladius; and, finally, we get the natural history of animals, drawn again from Solinus, and also from Isidorus, the "Hexaëmeron" of S. Ambrose and the medieval bestiaries. In the geography section the author takes over from his source the accounts of strange and monstrous Indian tribes, of men with dog's heads, of such as have only one leg, of

others that have no head and whose eyes are in the shoulder; while the portion dealing with natural history is filled with all those curious fables concerning the habits and properties of animals which were so popular in the Middle Ages, of the basilisk that kills with a look, of the salamander that lives in the fire, of the swan that sings before dying, of the dragon and the phœnix, of the stag that, run down and weary, seeks death by turning round to the hunters, of the sweet breath of the panther that attracts animals, of the unicorn that can be captured only by a pure virgin. It would be unjust to require of Brunetto critical judgment, when he adopts his sources; he merely took over from them what he found, as was then the custom. His work is nothing but a compilation: "Il est," as he says, "autressi come une bresche de miel cueillie de diverses flors; car cist livres est compilés seulement de mervilleus diz des autres qui devant nostre tens ont traitié de philosophie."

The second book, on the virtues and vices, begins with a compendium of Aristotle's "Nicomachean Ethics," taken from the Latin translation, for Brunetto was of course ignorant of Greek. This is augmented by supplementary moral reflections drawn from various medieval treatises, such as Isidorus's "Liber sententiarum," the "De IV. virtutibus" of Martinus Dumensis (which was attributed to Seneca), the "Ars loquendi et tacendi" of Albertanus de Brixia, and others.

The third and last book is an exposition of rhetoric, mainly according to the first book of Cicero's "De Inventione." With Brunetto, as with the ancients, rhetoric is closely connected with politics, seeing that eloquence is the chief and most indispensable instrument of government and public life. In politics, however, the author limits his observations to quite a special theme, to the institution of the *Podestà* in the Italian cities. This is really opposed to the fundamental idea of his work, which was to compile all that is worth knowing, briefly, but in as complete a form as possible; to this inconsistency, however, we are indebted for the only portion of the encyclopædia that is really original and therefore the most interesting of all. It is true that even here he made use of an older work on the office of the *Podestà*, the "Oculus Pastoralis" (as was pointed out by Mussafia), but still

he showed great independence and added much that was new. Brunetto, who was himself a state official, knew all about these matters from personal observation, and his instructions for the choice of the *Podestà*, for his conduct on assuming the office, for the transaction of state business and the administration of justice, for the course he is to follow in times of peace and of war, for the speeches he has to deliver, and the like, do not, it is true, testify to any very deep political thought: still, they show a sane and practical judgment, experience and discernment, besides giving interesting details concerning the nature of the remarkable institution in those days.

Brunetto's encyclopædia strove to embrace the entire field of what was then known. One section of this, namely, astronomy, was treated in far greater detail in the book of Ristoro of Arezzo, entitled, "Della Composizione del Mondo," and completed in the year 1282. This deals not only with the form and motions of heaven and the constellations, but also with the natural phenomena on earth, in so far as they were held to be determined by heavenly influences. Ristoro was a monk, as is shown by his own words; his knowledge is derived partly from the ancients, such as Ptolemy, Aristotle, and Isidorus, partly from the Latin translations of Arabian writers, such as Averrhoes, Avicenna, Algazel, and Alfergan, whom he quotes himself. It is scarcely probable that the Aretine monk made any original contributions to the science of astronomy. He stands absolutely on the level of his time, as when he proves with the greatest *naïveté* (Dist. viii., cap 12), that the southern hemisphere must be entirely covered with water and uninhabited, because no ships had ever come from there, because the southern firmament had less constellations, and was, accordingly, less noble, and for other equally valid reasons; or where he shows, in another passage (Dist. viii., cap. 3), that the whole world must be full of spirits without a body, and how these are able to influence things on earth. Ristoro's work is of special interest, too, as a monument of the old Aretine dialect, in its pure form, without any traces of the literary tongue.

Science was not yet creative, but consisted in appropriating whatever a former age of high culture had dis-

covered. Hence these popular compilations, hence, too, the translations of the writings of classical authors, which made the latter accessible to the general public unacquainted with the learned tongue, and thus aided the same cause—that of the popularisation of science. Brunetto Latini, in his "Rettorica," translated into Italian the first book of Cicero's "De Inventione" and added an ample commentary at the request of a fellow-countryman who had shown him great friendship during his sojourn in France. Bono Giamboni translated the "History" of Paulus Orosius and Flavius Vegetius's "Art of War." A slight Italian compendium of the Rhetoric "Ad Herennium," that was so long attributed to Cicero, is entitled "Fiore di Rettorica," or "Rettorica Nuova." It is dedicated to King Manfred, and must therefore have been written before 1266. In most of the manuscripts the author calls himself Fra Guidotto da Bologna. If this be correct, the language must have been strongly modernised, as a Bolognese could not have written with such purity at so early a date. However, a manuscript of the Riccardiana in Florence, which is, it is true, not so old as the others, states that Bono Giamboni is the author, and adds that Fra Guidotto had wrongfully appropriated the work. Finally, it has been suggested that Fra Guidotto wrote the book in Latin, and that Giamboni rendered it into Italian. This question can scarcely be solved, and, in view of the insignificance of the little work, it need not detain us any longer. To Brunetto Latini is also attributed, with a fair amount of certainty, the version of three of Cicero's speeches. It is less safe to assume the same authorship for certain fragments of Sallust's "Catiline," which Nannucci published in his "Manuale." For the first two of these speeches are not translated from the Latin at all, but from the French of the "Trésor" (lib. iii., pars i.), where they are cited as models for the rhetorical precepts. It is scarcely to be assumed that the author of the "Trésor" himself took them from this passage; more probably someone else did so, retaining the name and adding the rest independently. The so-called "Etica di Aristotile, compendiata da Ser Brunetto Latini" is nothing but the sixth book of Giamboni's translation of the "Trésor," which will be mentioned further on; this portion was extracted from the complete

work and made to do duty as an independent book. It is the same with another work attributed to Bono Giamboni—the "Della Forma di Onesta Vita di Martino Dumense": this is an extract of those passages of Giamboni's version of the "Trésor," in which Brunetto had incorporated the precepts of Bishop Martin under Seneca's name. But at any rate there was much activity in this branch of learning, and to account for this there must have been a corresponding desire of learning and knowledge on the part of the people. However, the translators were by no means scholarly, and it would be vain to expect faithful reproduction from these versions: the Middle Ages were never able to proceed altogether objectively, and when these authors of antiquity appear in the vulgar tongue they are, in a measure, travestied.

What must have given most pleasure in this work, according to the spirit of the age, is their moral aspect, the possibility of adapting the precepts and doctrines to practical life. This accounts for the popularity of the little book of moral sayings (each of which is contained in a Latin distich), which was composed in the third or fourth century after Christ, and called after Cato, as the type of the severe sage. It was in general use as a school book, which served the double purpose of instructing the young student in the rudiments of Latin and of showing him the paths of virtue. The former object is clear from the old translation into the Venetian dialect, belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century, which slavishly follows word for word, and with some bad mistakes also, not the original text, but a Latin prose paraphrase of the sayings, into which a number of errors had already crept; from which it follows that the teacher himself did not possess an adequate knowledge of the language which he desired to impart to his pupils by means of this version. Three other Tuscan translations which were edited by Michele Vannucci, probably belong to a later period. Practical and didactic in aim were also the collections of the sayings and deeds of famous men, such as the one that is entitled "Fiore di Filosofi et di molti Savi antichi," which was, in common with so many other works, wrongly attributed to Brunetto Latini. This little book gives accounts, in short, rapid traits, after

the manner of the "Novellino" (three of the stories of which are here reproduced), of divers famous men of antiquity, Greeks and Romans. First a few words serve to indicate who the man was who is to be discussed, and then follows the remarkable and instructive deed or saying, or, in some cases, several of these deeds and sayings. At times they are entirely fabulous, especially those belonging to Greek antiquity, as this period was far less known in the Middle Ages than the Roman. For the same reason the sayings of Cicero and Seneca are most numerous, these being the writers who were then most read. Such collections were called *Fiori*, because they aimed at gathering the flower of all that was worth knowing, and at presenting it to the reader. Every selection compiled in this manner was called *Fiore* or *Fiorita*, hence Fra Guidotto's "Fiore di Rettorica"—a compilation from the mass of rhetorical precepts; hence, too, the expression *fiori di parlare*, which occurs at the beginning of the "Novellino" in the sense of "remarkable sayings." The narrative of the "Fiore di Filosofi" is somewhat childish, as in the following account of Socrates: "Socrates was a very great philosopher at that time, and he was very ugly to look at; for he was immoderately small and had a hairy face, a broad flat nose, a bald sunken skull, neck and shoulders covered with hair, and legs thin and bent. And he had two wives at that time, who scolded and upbraided each other a great deal, for the husband showed more love on one day to the one, on another to the other. When Socrates found them quarrelling, he urged them on so that they seized each other by the hair, and mocked them when he saw them fighting for the sake of so hideous a man. And so it happened one day that they were pulling each other by the hair and he was mocking them, and they noticed this and let go of each other and both fell over him and got him under and pulled his hair so, that of the few he had not a single one remained. And he gets up and begins to run away, and they after him with sticks, and so they beat him that they left him for dead. In consequence of this, he departed with some pupils, and went to a country place, far from men, so as to be able to study better, and there he wrote many books, from which many sayings are drawn." The book has come down in several versions that differ

from one another, now in form and now in the number of the philosophers treated, to which one of them adds Christian saints. Bartoli assumes that the work is derived from medieval Latin texts, and this is certain for the one section dealing with Secundus and his original and profound definitions: it is a translation of the corresponding chapters in the "Mirror" ("Speculum Hist.," l. x., cap. 70, 71) of Vincentius Bellovacensis, or perhaps of the unknown source of this work.

Not only were the works of Frenchmen and those of antiquity translated, but also such as had been written in Latin or French by Italians themselves, at that time or a little earlier. Albertano, *giudice* of Brescia, composed three moral treatises—the first, "De Amore et Dilectione Dei" in 1238, when he was the prisoner of the Emperor Frederick II. at Cremona, after the capture of the castle Gavardo, which was under his command; the second, "De Arte Loquendi et Tacendi" in 1245; and the third, the "Liber Consolationis et Consilii" in 1246, or, according to a different estimate, in 1248. These three works were translated into Italian by Andrea da Grosseto in the year 1268, and soon after a second version was executed by Soffredi del Grazia, a notary of Pistoja, which is contained in a manuscript of the year 1278. The latter is the more interesting of the two, both as a monument of the language, and by reason of the certain age of the manuscript. It forms an authentic document of the dialect of Pistoja in the thirteenth century. As a reproduction of the original, however, Andrea's version is far superior, and Soffredi must even have known and used it, for in Tract. II., cap. 37-45, there is a striking similarity between his translation and that of Andrea, such as cannot be accounted for merely by the identity of the Latin text.

Albertano's treatises are likewise a kind of *Fiore* or *Fiorita*. He begins by setting up the moral precept and then continues with a very long series of quotations from sacred and secular texts, jumbling together Solomon with Seneca and Ovid, S. Paul and S. Augustine with Cicero and Cato. He has a veritable mania for piling quotation on quotation without selection and without moderation. Albertano is extremely erudite, and one cannot help admiring him for

knowing so many authors and for being able to quote them. But it was the erudition of his time—a time in which, as Nannucci remarked, the written word was still identical with the infallibly true word, in which authority counted for everything, the authority of the Church and of Holy Writ on the one hand, and, on the other, that of the classical writers. And all these were revered in equal measure : there was no distinction made between them. A saying of one of these great men was tantamount to a proof. But these sayings themselves were often, with a great lack of intelligence, taken out of their proper context, so that, for example, Seneca and Cicero are made to testify to the value of the Christian faith, whereas they, when they said *fides*, of course meant fidelity and honesty (" De Dilect.," cap iv.). No one saw anything inappropriate in supporting the Christian doctrines by the authority of Pagan writers. Add to this the inadequate acquaintance with the language and customs of so remote an age, and the final result of these learned studies was a singularly distorted image of that antiquity which people thought they knew so well, which was so greatly admired, and which served at the same time as a brilliant monument of past glory, and as an ideal model for the present.

The whole of the third treatise, the " Liber Consolationis," is clothed in the form of a narrative concerning Melibeus and his wife Prudentia. The house of Melibeus has, in his absence, been attacked by his enemies, his wife beaten and his daughter wounded. He is full of wrath and desires to avenge himself. The wise Prudentia opposes such a course, and now follow her precepts as to the manner in which one has to consider one's actions and deal with prudence and moderation. She succeeds in convincing her husband, so that he forgives his enemies and becomes reconciled to them. This appears to us an insipid story, and the long sermons of the moralist, that are pedantically divided and overloaded with quotations, seem to us unendurable in the mouth of a woman. But it is just for these very qualities that the treatise was more popular than the others ; it was translated, by itself, into other European languages, and a portion of it was introduced by Chaucer into his " Canterbury Tales ". For people were fond of every kind of

moralising narrative: the practical exemplification appeared to give life to the precepts and thus made them more attractive to the public.

Of a moral treatise that was formerly very highly esteemed, the "De Regimine Principum" of the famous Egidio Romano (which he had written for his pupil, Philip the Fair of France) there is a translation belonging to the year 1288, which, however, was not made from the original Latin, but from an earlier French version of this work. And from the French too, Bono Giamboni, the most industrious of all the translators of that time, rendered into Italian Brunetto Latini's great "Trésor." Bono is named in a document of the year 1264 as the son of Messer Giambono del Vechio, and as *giudice del popolo di S. Brocolo*; in 1282 he was judge of a different quarter of Florence, the *Sesto di Porta S. Pietro*, and as late as the year 1296 his name occurs in notarial documents. These dates were given by Fr. Tassi in the introduction to his edition of three treatises attributed to Giamboni—"Della Miseria dell'Uomo," "Giardino di Consolazione," and "Introduzione alle Virtù" (Firenze, 1836). If these works are really his, Bono must be considered a master of style for his time: his prose is already more rounded and fuller, it is clear, simple, and fluent, so that it may still be read with pleasure. It is true that this very fact increases one's suspicion that these treatises might be by a writer of the following century: but until the doubts that have been expressed are changed to certainty, the three works, which deserve closer examination, must be discussed in this place. Two of them are certainly again translations or new versions of older works. In the case of the "Giardino della Consolazione," the editor Tassi discovered the original in an unprinted Latin treatise—"Viridarium Consolationis." It is a collection of didactic precepts in the manner of the *Fiori*, and is called "Garden of Consolation," "because, as one solaces oneself in the garden and finds many flowers and fruits, so in this work there are many and beautiful sayings that will soothe and solace the soul of the pious reader, and he will find there many flowers and fruits." Here we see the same excessive quantity of quotations that we remarked in Albertano; but the classical authorities are not so often jumbled together with those of the Bible and

of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church. The second ascetic treatise, "Della Miseria dell' Uomo," describes the wretched condition of mankind in this earthly vale of misery, and shows how one may save oneself from it and attain the better fatherland. The model of this work was, as was also proved by Tassi, the book of Pope Innocent III., "De Contemptu Mundi seu de Miseria Humanæ Conditionis;" but the author here allowed himself freer scope, frequently changed the arrangement of the observations, and added something of his own.

It was the aim of such compilations and translations to popularise what was then called philosophy. The spirit and intention were the same as with the religious poetry: the goal was the attainment of the highest good, liberation from sin and salvation of the soul. The narratives of the monks, the sacred songs, and the primitive theatrical representations, were intended rather for the lower classes of the people, while the moral treatises, and the teachings of philosophy were for the more cultivated. A book belonging to the end of the classical period had exercised a great influence on the philosophical literature of the Middle Ages—namely, the "Consolatio Philosophiæ" of Boethius. The author wrote it in prison, shortly before his execution, and in it he related how he, when on the verge of despair at his miserable condition, beheld a majestic apparition, Philosophy, who came to console him, by reminding him of the vanity of all earthly things, and by pointing out to his soul a higher good. This direct connection with the author's fate, in which so many unhappy people saw their own condition mirrored, coupled with the nobility and warmth of the exposition, and the clearness of the fundamental ideas, could not fail to render the book specially effective. It was widely read, and was a solace to many. Henricus Septimellensis had imitated it, as we have seen, and thus it also served as a model for the most interesting of the three treatises attributed to Giamboni, the "Introduzione alle Virtù." "When I once considered my condition," so the work begins, "and weighed my fate within myself, when I suddenly saw myself fallen from a happy state to one of misery, I began imitating the lamentations of Job, in his wretchedness, to curse the hour and the day when I was

born and entered this unhappy life, and the food that had nourished and preserved me in this world." He despairs, and knows not how he is to save himself from so much anguish; thereupon he hears a voice that reproves him, and beholds a splendid figure, *Madonna Filosofia*. She cleanses his eyes of the crust that has formed in them from the uncleanness of earthly things. She deals with him just as Philosophy does with Boethius, speaks to him at times in the very words of Boethius, as though he were her disciple, "whom she had from the beginning weaned with her milk, and then nourished and brought up with her bread," and she admonishes him to raise his look and his soul. However, this figure of Philosophy, which, at the outset, resembles so closely that of the Roman author, is soon found to differ essentially from it. Although Boethius was himself a Christian, yet his philosophical ideas are still those of classical antiquity. His arguments deal only with the reasons of the intellect, from which are also deduced the existence and the essence of God. Reward and punishment in the next world need not be considered; virtue brings with it its own reward, vice its own punishment, according to the doctrine of the Pagan philosophy, and though Boethius mentions Hell and Purgatory, he only does so in order to show that they may be left out of account. Such a decided separation of faith and philosophy was impossible for Giamboni; with him they remain closely bound together. Faith alone was the key to Heaven, and thought was subordinated to it. The dogmas of Christianity stood firm and unchangeable; they were, by anticipation, the result that must necessarily follow from every argument. And so nothing remained for philosophy but this method of argumentation. It was the sole business of this science to give these arguments their form, and to find for them logical supports—or what then appeared to be logical supports—nothing, in short, beyond labouring in the lower regions among the foundations, while above these the edifice was completely finished, and did not require these fresh supports for itself. The people merely accepted the dogmas, and believed them without further ado. The more cultured were not satisfied with this, they required proofs, or, at any rate, the appearance of proofs; but with these, too,

the building would soon have tumbled down without faith, so that this distinction between the two classes was formal rather than substantial.

If we follow the exposition in the "Introduzione alle Virtù," we find a confirmation and illustration of what has been said. Philosophy begins by asking the author for the reason of his great sadness, and he replies at first that it is the loss of the blessings of fortune, of worldly splendour and fame. But she proves to him the vanity of such things. What, she says, is the goal of the human race, and why did God set it on the earth? He created men so as to fill with them the empty seats of those angels who were hurled with Lucifer from Heaven to perdition. However, the wealth and honour of the world are diametrically opposed to this aim, and instead of lamenting, he should rejoice at their loss. And when he goes on complaining that he has lost also the blessings of nature, that he is ill and miserable, she tells him that he may console himself: for this world is a valley of tears, a kind of purgatory, given to man, "so that he may here be able to weep and cleanse himself of his sins," and he who suffers with patience and humility shall come to possess Paradise. "The tribulation and anguish of the world are the punishments of God," which He inflicts out of love, as a father on his children. The Kingdom of Heaven is the "natural and permanent goal" of men, their "native land," and the whole of life is nothing but a struggle for the attainment of this true fatherland. The way to Heaven is narrow and wearisome; but there are friends who lovingly guide us over it. The author begs Philosophy to make him acquainted with these good friends. They appoint a day, and when he has come they mount their horses and start on the journey. They reach a meadow, where they behold a beautiful spring in the shade of a pine tree, and near at hand they find the palace of Christian faith, whose walls are of gold and precious stones. *Fede* is seated on a wonderful stool, teaching many people that surround her. When she sees *Filosofia* enter, she wishes to humble herself. But the former does not permit this, takes her by the hand, embraces her with tears of joy, and asks her: "My daughter *Fede*, how art thou faring in the service and grace of God?" And she said: "Very well, when I

am accompanied by thee: for without thy company, one cannot recognise God, nor do aught that is good." And the other said: "And little would my knowledge avail me, if it were not for thy faith" (cap. 15). In this way did the author in this scene express the relations between philosophy and religion, as they were in an age when men wished to philosophise while believing, and to believe while philosophising.

In the palace of *Fede* they take their evening meal; thereupon the author has to undergo an examination in the articles of faith, and finally they go to bed. The next morning they again set out and reach a mountain, from which they see a large plain, and many people armed for battle. It is the virtues on the one side, and the vices on the other. They order their armies in lines of battle—here, the seven principal vices under the chief command of Pride; there, the four cardinal virtues, as captains, with the subordinate vices and virtues as leaders of the single battalions; and, in the meantime, Philosophy tells her pupil the names, and explains the personifications he sees before him. *Fede Cristiana* appears in order to support the virtues, and, in a series of combats, she overcomes first, Idolatry, then the *Fede di Giudea*, then the Heresies, and, finally, Mohammedanism, after the latter had long been victorious. Again Philosophy explains to the author-spectator the allegorical meaning of all that is taking place. It is a kind of symbolical history of the Church. *Fede* triumphs. The virtues now begin the battle against their enemies. *Superbia* is overthrown, falling into the pit that has been dug by *Frode*; the rest flee to Hell. *Pazienza* moralises over the corpse of *Superbia*, and *Carità* distributes the booty among the poor. The idea of this battle of the vices and virtues, both in general and in many particulars, is borrowed from a poem of Prudentius, the "Psychomachia," which, under the image of such a combat, allegorically depicts the struggle between good and evil in the soul of man. However, the author treated his original as freely as when he was making use of the work of Boethius. After the victory, Philosophy descends with the author into the plain, in order to present to him the virtues, the promised friends. These begin by admonishing him, each with its particular precepts; and, finally, he is received and inscribed as their faithful follower.

We have, therefore, in this book, the fundamental idea of religious and moral literature—the liberation of the soul from earthly captivity—in the form of an allegorical journey, with the personifications of the psychological phenomena, and of Philosophy, who plays the part of guide and interpreter. The Middle Ages had, in general, a strong predilection for allegory and symbolism, and this arose from the nature of the literary themes themselves: the spiritual and abstract subject-matter could not be plastically treated with palpable images. The same cause that had introduced the allegorical and symbolical form into religion, operated in the case of literature: allegory makes its appearance when the subject cannot be expressed by the expedients of art, so that one is compelled to say one thing and to understand by it something different. But then one does not limit oneself to employing this form only where it is compulsory. One comes to take pleasure in it for its own sake —in its mysterious and enigmatical qualities, that cannot be grasped by the mind save with difficulty; and so allegory becomes the means of concealing in poetry intellectual ideas, or, *vice versâ*, of clothing the dry propositions of science and morals superficially, at least, in a poetic garb.

IX

THE ALLEGORICO-DIDACTIC POETRY AND THE PHILOSOPHICAL LYRICS OF THE NEW FLORENTINE SCHOOL

THE real home of the allegorical and didactic poetry at that time was France, where its development was probably largely due to the Latin allegorical treatises of Alanus de Insulis. The most important product of this poetical manner was the "Roman de la Rose," the first part of which had been written by Guillaume de Lorris not long before, and which was being continued by Jehan de Meung just at this time (after 1268). This "Romance of the Rose" is, in the form of a vision, an allegorical representation of love, with its changing joys and sorrows. In it abstractions appear personified—the faculties and passions of the soul, qualities, virtues, the conditions that are opposed and favourable to love, pleasures, happiness, liberality, courtesy, reason, wealth, fair mien, friendly welcome, shame, fear, calumny, prudery, jealousy, and the like; and these represent a varied and vivacious drama, speaking and acting. With Guillaume de Lorris there are few traces of a didactic aim; but in Jehan de Meung there is a preponderance of didactic and satirical matter, touching, as he does, every possible aspect of life, with his endless and superficial digressions. The poem met with extraordinary success, also in other countries, and was much imitated. A Tuscan poet, Ser Durante, reproduced it with great freedom and notable skill in a *corona* of two hundred and thirty-two sonnets, retaining only the main narrative of the allegorical love-quest, omitting the digressions and removing much of the prolixity. This poem, which the editor called "Il Fiore," because it speaks only of a flower in the place of the rose, belongs probably to the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, a considerable influence of the "Romance of the Rose" and kindred productions is to be

noted much earlier. The longer Italian allegorical poems, which were composed in the second half of the thirteenth, and the first half of the fourteenth century, plainly stand in close relation to them. Brunetto Latini's "Tesoretto" shows the French influence in the manner of its personifications, in its language, which contains a number of specifically French expressions, as also in its metrical form. The poem is written in lines of seven syllables, rhyming in pairs, that is to say, in a metre that approaches as nearly as possible the couplets of eight syllables, which were employed in Provençal and French narrative and didactic poetry. It is even probable that the "Tesoretto" was composed in France, and the work is dedicated to some very exalted personage, who is supposed by Zannoni to be Saint Lewis.

Brunetto Latini was not endowed with the poetical gifts of a man like Guillaume de Lorris, and his allegories lack all grace and vitality; he is a scholar even in his verses, which are made to express the dry learning of the schools, in a bald and sometimes clumsy manner. The author, who, as we have seen, was sent to Spain as Florentine legate, relates how, on his return from that country, he met a student of Bologna, who told him the sad news of the defeat at Monteaperti and the expulsion of the Guelphs, and how his grief at the misfortunes of his native city, rent in twain by party strife, was so great, that he lost his way and took a path through the midst of a wild forest. When the sorrow, that held his soul captive, allowed him to turn his mind again to outward things, he sees, round about the mountain, all kinds of creatures, men, animals, and plants, following the beck of a noble lady. This is Nature, that is described, with touches which at first recall Boethius' philosophy, but afterwards in a petty and tasteless manner, with all the details of feminine beauty—the hair, brow, eyes, lips, teeth, and so on. She instructs the poet in various points concerning the essence of herself, that is, of Nature, and her relation to God, concerning the creation of objects, the angels, and the fall of the proud among them, concerning man, the soul and its powers, the body and the five senses, the four elements and the four temperaments, the seven planets and the twelve constellations of the sun's course. From astronomical subjects a very clumsy transition is made

to geography. Nature leaves the author. She must depart in order to act and operate throughout the world, and these operations of hers he now sees with his own eyes. At her command he beholds the chief rivers, of which there are four, that is, the four rivers that spring from Paradise; they are named, and, at the same time, also the countries through which they flow. The mention of the East gives occasion for the enumeration of a number of spices and animals. What follows is again introduced in a remarkably awkward manner (xi. 101):

> Poi vidi immantenente
> La reina potente
> Che spendea la mano
> Ver lo mare oceano.

This enables him to speak of the ocean, of the pillars of Hercules, of the Mediterranean Sea and of several countries and cities that lay round its shores. Finally, he sees the habits of all animals. But Nature now bids him continue his journey. He again rides through a wild and pathless wood, and reaches a lovely plain, where an empress rules over many princes and wise men; this is Virtue, whose four daughters are queens, the four cardinal virtues, the various abodes of which he visits one after the other. This separation from Nature and her teaching, and the visit to Virtue, therefore signifies the transition from the theoretical first, the psychical part, to the practical second part, dealing with ethics. The entire poem, so far, is, as will be seen, nothing but an extract from the first and second books of the "Trésor." At the beginning, the identity with individual passages of the French work is so exact, that these may be used to correct the Italian text. Also the order of the subjects treated is the same as in the "Trésor," save that, in the poem, several sections of the encyclopædia are dealt with very rapidly or entirely omitted, for the reason that the author found the exposition in rhyme too difficult; however, he had the intention of making good the parts that were here left out, in a prose treatise at the end of the work, as he himself repeatedly stated. On the other hand, the ethical portion of the "Tesoretto" is augmented by a section not contained in the "Trésor"—the precepts of *Larghezza*, *Cortesia*, *Leanza* and *Prodezza*. The poet meets these four

virtues in the house of *Giustizia*, and listens to the admonitions they address to a knight. The last of these, which fill four considerable chapters (xv.-xviii.), thus form a long didactic poem on decorum and on prudent and decent conduct in the world. At the close of the sermons the poet departs with the knight. The latter returns to his native land, while Master Brunetto continues on his way, in order to seek *Ventura* and *Amore*, as Nature had ordered him to do. He comes to a meadow filled with flowers, where he finds many people, some gay, some sad. These are ruled by a naked youth, who is armed with a bow and arrows, but is blind—*il Piacere*. Together with him are four ladies, *Paura*, *Desianza*, *Amore* and *Speranza*, that is, the four passions that are united in love, while the latter itself, according to the shallow old theory of the Provençal and Sicilian lyrical poets, is assumed to derive from *Piacere*. Brunetto, too, falls under the power of *Amore*, and feels himself rooted to the spot; however, Ovid, the author of the "Remedia Amoris", instructs him in the means of escape. He crosses the mountain and reaches the plain. But what he has seen and experienced causes him to turn from his worldly life to God and to the saints. He therefore interrupts the narrative with an ascetic sermon on the vanity of the world, bewails his many sins, tells how he has confessed to the good monks at Montpellier, and admonishes a friend to do likewise and to look to his soul. He returns into the wood and rides so long, till he one morning finds himself on the summit of Mount Olympus. There he beholds an aged man, with a white face and a white beard. This is Ptolemy, who now begins his teaching. That is to say, the promised prose treatise on the seven liberal arts was to follow, one of which, namely, that on Astronomy, is Ptolemy's province. However, this prose section is missing, and was in all probability never written. As may be gathered from a passage (xiv. 83, *sqq.*), the "Tesoretto" was to be a compendium of the great encyclopædia, written in Italian, more concisely and intelligibly, for readers of less culture; and, for the same reason, it was to be clothed in verse and allegory, so as to make science more attractive to the general public. The same passage shows that it was written while the author was occupied with the "Trésor." After

finishing the latter he may have lost the inclination to continue a second treatment of the same themes in the "Tesoretto," which accordingly remained unfinished.

Another poet of the didactic and allegorical school, Francesco da Barberino, was influenced not only by French, but also by Provençal models. He, too, lived for a time in France. He was, if we may trust the data given by Filippo Villani, the son of a certain Neri di Rinuccio, born in 1264, at Barberino, a small town in Val d'Elsa. He devoted himself to the study of law, and appears in a Bolognese document of the year 1294 with the title of notary. From 1297 to 1304 he was in Florence, as episcopal notary. Between 1309 and 1313 he travelled in the South of France, on important business, the nature of which is not known, and frequently stayed at the courts of Clement V. and of Philip the Fair. On his return he acquired the title of a doctor *utriusque juris* (there it no testimony of this till the year 1318), and settled in Florence. He did not die till 1348, at the beginning of the plague which was then raging, and which carried off so many distinguished men. Francesco da Barberino availed himself to the full of the opportunity given him in France of studying more closely the literature of the Provençals. He shows an acquaintance with the poetry of the troubadours such as is possessed by scarcely any other of his countrymen and contemporaries, and very frequently quotes them in his works, though, it is true, he did this in such a manner as accorded with his disposition, and always with a one-sided regard for practical utility, without in any way understanding their æsthetic value.

One of the two great didactic poems of Francesco da Barberino, the "Documenti d'Amore," was sketched and, for the most part, composed in Provence itself, and therefore between the years 1309 and 1313, as was recently demonstrated by A. Thomas. He then completed the work shortly after his return to Italy. He begins with the verses:

> Somma virtù del nostro sire Amore
> Lo mio intelletto novamente accese,
> Che di ciascun paese
> Chiamassi i servi alla sua maggior rocca.[1]

[1] The high power of our sire, Love, recently kindled my mind, that from each country I should call the servants to his greatest castle.

The author invites the servants of *Amore* to assemble in the latter's castle. *Amore* then himself addresses *Eloquenza*. The latter dictates the documents (doctrines) to the servants, and the author writes them down and sends them to those that love, as all were not present at the assembly. Here we have, in accordance with the Provençal doctrine, *Amore* as the source of virtue and dispenser of instruction; and so nothing is concealed behind the alluring title "The Documents of Love," that seems to promise so much, but extremely monotonous precepts on morality and prudence, as in the "Breviari d'Amor," the great didactic poem of Matfre Ermengau, which was composed about twenty years before Francesco's work. His precepts are scarcely based on this poem, but frequently on other Provençal works that were known to him and are now lost. The documents or doctrines are arranged under twelve more general titles, such as *Docilità*, *Industria*, *Gloria*, *Eternità*, and the like. Each division is preceded by a miniature (executed under the author's direction) of the allegorical figure whose name it bears, and this is explained in the opening verses of the section. Francesco's original manuscript has been preserved in the Barberini Library at Rome, with the drawings, a Latin version of the Italian text and a full Latin commentary, which contains important remarks on Old Italian and Provençal literary history, and in which the author, according to his own statement, has deposited the accumulated learning of sixteen years.

The other work of Francesco da Barberino, entitled "Del Reggimento e Costumi di Donna," was begun before the "Documenti," but completed after them; not infrequently it refers to them, and in one passage describes the complete manuscript that contains them. The "Documenti" taught virtue and morals in general. The second work is specially addressed to women: this is a subject which the author had omitted in the other book, and which, as he says, had never been treated before. And, in point of fact, although instructions for the female sex *did* exist, such as the French "Chastoiement des Dames" of Robert of Blois, still, these were very general, and cannot be compared with Francesco's more thorough and detailed treatment. The book consists of verses that are for the most part rhymeless and of varying length,

mixed with prose; frequently the former can scarcely be distinguished from the latter. At the beginning, *Madonna* requests the poet to compose his treatise, and for this purpose takes him before *Onestà*, who appoints *Eloquenza* and *Industria* to guide his pen, and to make use of him as the organ of their doctrines to mankind. Francesco gives various precepts, on the one hand according to the various ages, or as to whether the woman is married or single, widow or nun; on the other hand according to the different conditions, from empress and queen down to servant and peasant. In the last of the twenty sections (which are again introduced by allegorical drawings of the virtue or quality appropriate to each case, and by dialogues between the virtue in question and the woman to be instructed), we get a series of rules of life and morals for the entire sex, somewhat badly arranged: here the author descends even to observations on ornament and to recipes for the preservation and increase of beauty. In the prose pieces he usually tells moral tales in support of his doctrines, insipid little stories, showing no great depth of thought, some of which he had collected himself on his journeys in France. Nevertheless, this second work is more interesting than the first, because it affords us a wider view of the manners, ideas, and prejudices of the time. It was a severe and pedantic discipline to which honourable women and girls of the higher classes had to submit, and, in addition to the genuine innocent goodness and purity, a good deal of hypocrisy and dissimulation was required of them.

From time to time this treatise is interrupted by allegorical journeys of the author to *Madonna*, and by conversations with her, in which he desires to refresh himself after his labour and to gather new inspiration. *Madonna* is an allegorical being, a noble queen come down from heaven, the firstborn daughter of the Highest (p. 433), that was in the Divine mind before all other creatures (p. 222). She diffuses light throughout the world, is the enemy of ignorance, the sister and guide of the virtues. Through her we see on earth truth and whatever we can apprehend of the Divine spirit. *Luce Eterna* says she belongs to her court; *Carità*, *Amore*, and *Speranza* show the way that leads to her; *Intelletto* is her door-keeper. "I am," she says (p. 224), "of such a kind, that many round about take away from me, and

I yet remain whole,—I am in heaven and on earth everywhere." She gives to drink from a source that never runs dry, and rewards the author at the close, when he hands her his book, with a stone from her crown that shall divulge everything to him, save the things that God reserves for himself. Who is this noble lady, whom the author does not name, but whom, as he thinks, we shall recognise from his description? It was generally thought that it was Wisdom. But Borgognoni showed that this interpretation cannot be correct. For in the conversation between *Madonna* and *Onestà* at the beginning, the latter says to her that she hopes *Sapienza* with many other virtues would support the desired book with their aid; so that *Sapienza* is a third person, and not *Madonna* herself, to whom *Onestà* is addressing these words. Borgognoni saw that Francesco's allegorical lady is the universal Intelligence, which, emanating directly from God, penetrates into the universe by its force, and illuminates the human intellect;[1] this was a philosophical conception that had gone over from the Arabian commentators of Aristotle (Avicenna and Averrhoes) into the didactic philosophy, and that formed the subject of another poem, which was composed about the same time and which was called "La Intelligenzia" after it.

This "Intelligenzia" is a poem of three hundred and nine stanzas in *nona rima*, that is, in stanzas of eight verses to which is added a ninth rhyming with the sixth—a form which possesses a certain harmonious effect by reason of its curious movement, returning within itself, and which is well adapted for the expression of lyrical sentiment, as may be seen from the fifth stanza:

E non si può d'amor proprio parlare
A chi non prova i suoi dolzi savori,
E sanza prova non sen pò stimare
Più che lo cieco nato de' colori.
E non pote nessuno mai amare,
Se non li fa di grazia servidori;
Che lo primo penser che nel cor sona
Non vi saria, s'Amor prima nol dona;
Prima fa i cor gentil che vi dimori.[2]

[1] *Intelletto* is her door-keeper, that is to say, the *Intellectus possibilis* absorbs within itself this *Intelligentia* as *Intellectus agens*.

[2] And of love one cannot properly speak to him who does not experience its sweet charms, and without experience one cannot esti-

However, in so long a poem, and one that is largely narrative, this form of stanza becomes wearisome after a while. The work commences with a description of spring, like so many songs of the troubadours, and adopting exactly the same images and expressions: indeed, the first two verses are, as Nannucci pointed out, translated straight from the Provençal. Then the beginning of the poet's love is narrated, followed by a description of his lady. In the account of her attire, the author's imagination displays an Oriental luxuriousness, and the crown that adorns her head furnishes occasion for the enumeration, in forty-three stanzas, of sixty various jewels, with all their fabulous wonders, as he found them in the lapidaries of his time. Farther on, he comes to speak of the palace inhabited by the lady, and describes this, too, from chamber to chamber, mostly according to the plans and specifications of the various apartments, as we know them from several medieval accounts of palaces. As he intends dishing up for our benefit certain stories that have nothing to do with his theme, he makes use of an artifice which was frequently employed later on by poets, but which is introduced very clumsily in the present case: he feigns that there are paintings and sculptures on the ceiling and walls of the great hall—Amore in the centre surrounded by the famous lovers, Paris and Helena, Achilles and Polyxena, Æneas and Dido, and many others. In another place is seen the whole history of Cæsar, with the uninteresting recital of which he fills one hundred and thirty-nine stanzas, seeking in a measure to justify the introduction of this unessential feature by remarking now and again that it was painted or sculptured. He quotes Lucan; in reality, however, he did not draw from this source, but from the translation of the French History of Cæsar which has come down in the Ricciardi manuscript of the year 1313, and which he often followed very closely, even in the wording. In the same way as the history of Cæsar, but in less detail, are introduced the deeds of Alexander and the Trojan war, and,

mate them any more than he who is born blind can estimate colours. And no one can ever love, if love does not make him the servant of grace; for the first thought that sounds in the heart would not be there if *Amore* does not first give it; it makes the hearts noble before taking up its abode in them.

finally, two stanzas are devoted to the Round Table, these passages being likewise based on French works or on Italian versions of them. After this enormous digression, which fills two-thirds of the poem, the author returns to his lady, describes the festal joy that reigns in her mansion, the confession of his love after he had been encouraged by *Madonna* and Amore, and finally, more generous in this than Francesco da Barberino, himself discloses to us the secrets that are concealed under his allegory. His lady is, as we have already said, the *Intelligenza*, who, standing before God's throne, by means of the angels that move the heavens, spreads her vivifying influence throughout the world, and takes up her abode in the human intellect. Her palace is the soul with the body; the great hall, the heart; the winter and summer rooms, the liver and spleen; the kitchen, the stomach; the sculptures and paintings are the beautiful memories that fill the human mind; the chapel signifies the faith in God; the senses are the main entrance; the bones are the outer, and the nerves the inner walls. It is an allegory that offends against every instinct of good taste. The author was well acquainted with the doctrine of Guido Guinicelli, and alluded several times to the precept concerning *Amore* and the *cor gentile*, as, for instance, in the stanza that we have quoted (and again in 57, 71, and 297). His own idea of the love of the Intelligence might possibly be an exaggeration of the conception of the Bolognese poet and of his Florentine followers, that made the loved one the symbol of all that was highest and noblest, and on the strength of which Guido had compared the influence of the lady on the lover to that of the Deity on the heavenly intelligences. But the episodes, first the description of the numerous precious stones, and then the narrative of the romantic tales, attract the reader's attention far more than the fundamental idea for the embellishment of which they were to serve; and if they were taken away, but little would remain of the whole. The direct or indirect influence of French sources is noticeable also in the language, which again shows several French words and forms.

The first scholar who made any portion of this poem known, Francesco Trucchi, had endeavoured to see in it special beauties and a great antiquity, with that exaggerated

enthusiasm which discoverers are always inclined to display, when they have just unearthed a monument. He found in it a warmth and splendour of colouring that were quite oriental, and thought that it must have been composed in Sicily, under the Norman dynasty, when the Arabian influences were still sufficiently strong. This judgment, for which there was absolutely no foundation, was subsequently shared by many who had not read beyond the first twenty or thirty stanzas. That the poem belongs, at the earliest, to the second half of the thirteenth century is proved, as D'Ancona showed, by the above-mentioned connection with the canzone of Guido Guinicelli; and, for the rest, there are everywhere traces of the Provençal and Old French literatures, or of the philosophical theories current at the time. It is true that the latter were derived from the Arabian commentators of Aristotle. But these were universally read in the Latin translation, and the author need not even have adopted them at first hand, seeing that the ideas he made use of had been admitted into the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages, and that they had been popularised especially by the men who opposed them, such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas; we found them also in Francesco da Barberino. There can be no question here of an exceptional acquaintance with Arabian science, or of a direct connection with Oriental poetry. If the Riccardi manuscript containing the history of Cæsar which is used in the "Intelligenzia" is an autograph, as may be assumed with some certainty, the poem would even be later than 1313. One of the two old manuscripts, that of the Magliabechiana, actually gave at the end the name of the author. There one could read the words: "Questo si chiama la'ntelligienzia, lo quale fecie Dino Chompag . . ." These words are now partly illegible, but they were recently seen by creditable witnesses: they were written by a later hand, at the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. According to this, the work would be by Dino Compagni, the *gonfaloniere* of the year 1293, whose authorship of a Florentine chronicle now forms the subject of a keen controversy and will occupy us in another place. As no valid argument has been brought to bear against this attribution of the poem, it may be regarded at any rate as probably correct.

Brunetto Latini's "Tesoretto," the two works of Francesco da Barberino and a portion of the "Intelligenzia" are treatises in verse. In this propensity for employing poetry for didactic themes, these Florentine poets are in agreement with the tendency inaugurated by Guido Guinicelli in lyrical poetry. In the latter, the actual love passion becomes of smaller import, and approaches more closely to allegory, to the symbolical expression of enthusiasm for philosophical and moral ideas; while Francesco and the poet of the "Intelligenzia" represent the zeal for virtue and knowledge under the allegory of an amorous passion for *Madonna*, who is the personification of an abstract idea. There is, however, this important difference between the lyrical and didactic poets: the former began with the concrete being and then came with the idea, while the latter adopted precisely the opposite course. And so it is intelligible that the philosophical lyrical poetry, which had first blossomed in Bologna, should meet with special success and find its principal imitators in Florence, where, mainly through Brunetto Latini's example, an ardent zeal for scientific studies was being displayed, and where didactic poetry was being cultivated with such ardour. It was Guido Cavalcanti, who, according to Dante's judgment ("Purg.," xi. 97), wrested the palm for lyrical art poetry from the older Guido. He was the most intimate friend of Dante, but older than he, and already a famous poet when Dante began his literary career. Still, in view of the intimate relations between the two, there cannot have been a very great difference in their ages. It is true that, as Giovanni Villani reports (vii. 15), Guido was, in the year 1267, among those sons of the nobility, who, when peace was being made between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, were selected for binding together the hostile families by means of intermarriage. His father, Cavalcante Cavalcanti, who belonged to the Guelph party, gave him to wife Bice or Beatrice, the daughter of Farinata degli Uberti (who had been dead since 1264)—the magnanimous head of the Ghibellines celebrated by Dante. It was therefore thought that he must at that time have been of a marriageable age of at least twenty; but Del Lungo proved that Villani's words do not justify such a conclusion, and that it was merely a question of an arrangement of marriage, made by

the relatives for political reasons, while Guido was yet a child, and that the wife who was then selected for him did not actually marry him till many years after. In the year 1280 Guido Cavalcanti is mentioned as one of the sureties in the peace articles drawn up by Cardinal Latino, among whom, as we saw, was also Brunetto Latini. In 1284 he was member of the great council of the commune, or *podestà*, and as it was prescribed that no one could attain this position before the completion of his twenty-fifth year, it follows that Guido could not have been born after 1259. When the Guelph party was itself divided into two hostile camps, by the adherents of the Cerchi and Donati respectively, the Cavalcanti joined the former and Guido took an active part in the hostilities that agitated the city. Dino Compagni relates that, on a pilgrimage to Santiago, he was in danger of his life through the snares laid by Corso Donati; and the fact of the pilgrimage at least is vouched for by a sonnet of Niccola Muscia dei Salimbeni of Siena, from which we also gather that Guido did not actually reach Compostella, but halted at Nîmes owing to illness, and sold his horses. From his own poems ("Era in penser d'amor," and "Una giovane donna di Tolosa,") it appears that he stayed also in Toulouse, where he fell in love with a lady called Mandetta. When the struggle in Florence between the Cercheschi and Donateschi became more and more serious, the *Signoria*, on June 24, 1300, decided to temporarily remove the heads of the two hostile parties from the city. Among those banished was Guido Cavalcanti, and Dante, who was then one of the Priors, was thus compelled to assent to such a measure against his best friend. Guido became ill in Sarzana, the place of his exile, and his ballad, "Perch'io non spero di tornar," which appears to have been composed there, in words of pain expresses the conviction, that he will never again behold Tuscany and his beloved. On account of the unhealthy air of that town, the *Signoria* soon after recalled the exiled Cercheschi to Florence. But for Guido it was too late: he died shortly after his return, at the end of August, 1300.

Guido Cavalcanti is described to us as a deep thinker. Giovanni Villani bewails his death in the following words (viii. 42): "His loss was much to be lamented: for he was,

as a philosopher, in many ways a distinguished man, save that he was too sensitive and violent." Dino Compagni addressed to him a sonnet, in which he censures his aristocratically retired and brooding mode of life, and exhorts him to take an active part in the public life of the city. In this poem he characterises him as follows: "How prudent you are, I tell among the people, vigorous, excellent, and capable, and how you understand attack and skirmishing, and how you know many works by heart, in an intelligent way, and how you run and leap and move yourself." Guido united in himself the chivalrous qualities of the warlike Florentine nobility, and the love of study, and thus he is represented in a tale of Boccaccio ("Dec." vi. 9), in which it is related how he freed himself from a company that was irksome to him by means of a deep and sarcastic reply. Boccaccio goes on to say of him: "When he philosophised, he often withdrew himself very much from men, and as he held some of the opinions of the Epicureans, it was said among the common people that the sole end of these speculations of his was to endeavour to prove the non-existence of God." By "Epicureans," those were meant who who did not believe in the immortality of the soul; but it is doubtful whether this was really Guido's philosophical conviction. Among the so-called Epicureans in the sixth circle of Hell, Dante finds Guido's father-in-law, Farinata, and his father, Cavalcante, and the latter, on seeing his son's friend traversing the realm of gloom, looks around him and then, weeping, utters the words (x. 58):

> If through this blind
> Prison thou goest by loftiness of genius,
> Where is my son? and why is he not with thee?

And Dante replies:

> I come not of myself;
> He who is waiting yonder leads me here,
> Whom in disdain perhaps your Guido had.[1]

These mysterious words have not yet been interpreted in an entirely satisfactory manner. Why should Guido have

[1] For this, as for all the other passages from the "Commedia" quoted in this volume, the translation used is that of Longfellow.

disdained the leadership of Virgil? It has been said that this means that he preferred philosophy to poetry; but surely it is precisely philosophy that Virgil symbolises in the "Commedia." Others thought it meant that he had cultivated deep poetry and neglected frivolous themes; but in the Middle Ages Virgil was regarded as the profoundest of all poets. Then again, it was held to express Guido's predilection for the vulgar tongue, to the detriment of Latin; but how could that deprive him of the leadership of Virgil, when Dante himself wrote in Italian, and narrated in Italian the very journey on which Virgil was guiding him? A new explanation was attempted by Francesco D'Ovidio, which is based on the old report of Guido's Epicureanism. Dante's Virgil, he says, signifies Reason and Philosophy, not, however, reason in the broad sense, but reason in so far as it is illuminated and guided by Divine grace; Virgil is sent by Beatrice, the symbol of Faith, and obeys her behests. Now, if Guido did not believe in the immortality of the soul, it is natural that this Virgil could not guide him, and that he could not journey through a world the existence of which he denied. At the same time, as D'Ovidio himself subsequently owned, it is risky to base the interpretation of an obscure passage, which could have quite a different meaning, on a notice given us by a novelist fifty years later, and, even then, not with absolute certainty. Cicciaporci had already thought that the whole reproach of Epicureanism might have been transferred to Guido from his father, Cavalcante. It is clear enough from the accounts, that Guido was addicted to brooding speculation, but what his metaphysical views were we do not know. At the outside, one might deduce a certain freedom of thought in religious matters from one of his own poems. In the year 1292, an image of the Virgin Mary, painted on one of the pillars of the Loggia di Orto San Michele, began to work miracles, to cure the sick, and to free those possessed by the devil, so that people made pilgrimages thither from all parts; but the Franciscans and Dominicans did not believe in the whole affair, out of jealousy, as the people said, because they had not had a hand in it. On this occasion, Guido Cavalcanti sent to Guido Orlandi one of those favourite correspondence sonnets, in which he speaks in a mocking tone of these events, so that Guido Orlandi considered it

necessary to admonish him, in his reply, to penitence and to reverence for the holy men. But it is a long way from such mockery of miraculous images and jealous monks, which even pious people at times permitted themselves, to incredulity and atheism.

The poem of Guido to which he was most indebted for his fame as poet and philosopher, is the canzone, "Donna mi prega; perch'io voglio dire." It was regarded at that time as a marvellous work—as the greatest perfection of poetry—for it was science itself with all its subtilities expressed in verse: in it the erudite dialectician displayed his art. As we learn from the opening, the poem was composed at the request of a lady, who had asked him what love was, and whose question was clothed by Guido Orlandi in a sonnet, "Onde si muove e donde nasce Amore?" The essence of love was, as we know, an old and favourite problem of the Provençals and Sicilians, the solution of which had then been attempted by Guido Guinicelli in an original manner, in that he illustrated his ideas by means of expressive images and similes. A different method is adopted by Guido Cavalcanti, who employs merely sober propositions and demonstrations, and the lady who had questioned him must have been very learned, if she was satisfied with his reply. The canzone was, in the course of time, commented no less than eight times, among others by so distinguished a person as Egidio Romano, and by the famous doctor, Dino del Garbo, both of these employing the Latin tongue. In spite of the fullness of these interpretations, however, the meaning of many passages still remained obscure—at times, indeed, became more so; it is true that one of the chief reasons for this may be the faulty condition of the text, for even the earliest commentators had to work with variant readings, as was, later on, the case with Dante's "Commedia," too. The first stanza may be reproduced somewhat in this form: "A lady begs me; therefore I shall tell of an accident, that is often cruel and so proud, and that is called *Amore*: let the man, who does not believe in it, hear the truth concerning it. And for the present exposition I require a learned reader, for I do not think that a man of slight intelligence has sufficient understanding for such a subject;

for without scientific procedure (*senza natural dimostramento*, that is, *senza il dimostramento della filosofia naturale*) I do not intend to demonstrate where *Amore* dwells, and what brings about its origin, and what is its property, its power, its being and each one of its manifestations, the pleasure that gives it the name *Amore*, and whether one can see it in the body." These eight points into which Guido divides up his theme, and the second, seventh, and eighth of which had so often occupied the older lyrical poets, though in a different manner, are worked off quite systematically in the four following stanzas. Here we have the apparatus of the scholastic philosophy, the logical divisions and distinctions, the definitions, syllogisms and terminology of the schools. Image and sentiment, the foundations of all poetry, as we find them in Guinicelli's canzone, are here entirely lacking. Add to this the wearisome artificiality of the form, with its numerous difficult intermediate rhymes. The author himself was very satisfied with his work. He says in the refrain: "Thou canst, oh canzone, go without fear, wherever thou wilt; for I have so adorned thee, that, whatever thou sayest will be very much praised by the persons that have understanding; to stay with the others thou hast no wish." From these words we see the æsthetic views of the cultured public of those days: here we have poetry entirely in the service of science, and overburdened with erudition, considered worthy of long commentaries, and requiring these, if it was to be understood at all; so that Guido's canzone concerning love appears as a forerunner of Dante's "Convivio," and, in a measure, of the "Commedia" too.

However, the exaggeration of the didactic manner, as exemplified in this product, was, fortunately, never repeated either by Guido himself or by the other poets of the new Florentine school, the chief of which was Guido Cavalcanti, and to which Dante belonged. Besides these two, the following deserve special mention as disciples of the school: Lapo Gianni, the friend of Guido and of Dante, Lapo (or Lupo) degli Uberti, the son of the noble Farinata, Gianni Alfani, Dino Frescobaldi, and Loffo (or Noffo) Bonaguidi. These poets perfected as a type, and transformed into a regular system, the set of ideas that Guido Guinicelli had first introduced into poetry. Already with the Provençals,

love consisted of the apotheosis of the lady, who was the possessor and dispenser of every perfection; but her gift was the perfection of the knight and courtier—fame, honour, noble manners and courtesy. With this new school, however, the perfection is that of the philosopher—virtue and perception. The lady is something that has descended from heaven, she is an angel, an image of the spiritual on earth; what she inspires is Platonic love. Thus Lapo Gianni says at the beginning of a ballad to his beloved:

> Angelica figura nuovamente
> Dal ciel venuta a spander tua salute,
> Tutta la sua virtute
> Ha in te locata l'alto dio d'amore.

("Angelic form, newly come from heaven to spread thy blessing, all his power has the high God of love placed in thee.") And again, in the finest sonnet of Guido Cavalcanti, "Chi è questa che vien ch' ogn' uom la mira," the loved one appears as something transcendental, for the perception of which the human intellect is not adequate. Everyone regards her, when she approaches; the air trembles at her radiance, and with her she leads Love, so that no one can speak, and all sigh. Here one feels the truth and sincerity of the passion that has given rise to exaggerated expressions of praise, and communicated its fervour to them. But with the poets of the Florentine school, the ideas and sentiments again became fossilised into conventional forms. Here, too, we have *Amore* personified, the ruler of all lovers, of all those that have a noble heart, the formula concerning *Amore* and the *cor gentile* being often repeated. Now *Amore* is a cruel ruler, and now a gentle one, who goes to the lady in order to entreat her to have pity for the lover, and long dialogues between them follow. In other cases we have long speeches addressed to the canzone or to the ballad, or dialogues between the personified faculties of the soul: the heart or the soul or a thought speaks, and the spirits of love, the *spiritelli d'amore*, act and hold discourse. The pyschological processes are materialised and represented by means of these very personifications; it is, above all, that most important event, the actual falling in love, the origin of the feeling that is to be the source of pain and of perfection, that

becomes a favourite theme of this school. A spirit of love —thus the process is described in the very characteristic ballad of Lapo Gianni, that has already been quoted—coming from the heart of the lady by way of the eyes, enters through the eyes of the poet and makes his heart and soul take flight, in that they are in fear of death. "Then, when the soul had regained its power, it called to the heart: 'Art thou dead now, since I do not feel thee in thy place?' And the heart replied, which had but little life left, and which, solitary, astray, without aid, and expiring, could scarcely speak, and said: 'Oh soul, help me to raise myself.'" This is a new conventionalism, a new repertory of ideas and expressions, less vapid and sickly than those of the Sicilians, but all the more abstract. Still, in spite of all this, there remains in this new Florentine school a considerable amount of individual feeling, and it is further distinguished by increasing vigour and maturity of form. The language is already a flexible instrument, adequate to express the most difficult themes. As such it appears, leaving Guido out of count, especially in the canzoni of Dino Frescobaldi.

Moreover, this striving after depth of thought was combined with the tendency, peculiar to the Tuscans, towards a more natural and popular manner, which often animated the poetry by imparting to it a fresher breath. Guido Cavalcanti himself composed two ballads in the Old French and Provençal *genre* of the *pastorella*, and he fully succeeded in preserving the ingenuous simplicity of the rural poetry. In the one poem ("Era in pensier d'amor") he meets, while lost in thought of his Toulousan Mandetta, two pretty young country girls, who look at him, see how much he is in love and railingly ask him whether he can remember the eyes that have wounded him so deeply. In the other ("In un boschetto trovai pastorella") he finds a shepherdess alone in the wood, and begs for her love, in the manner of the knights of the French and Provençal pastoral poems; but the figure of the girl and her dialogue with him are, in spite of its naturalness, imbued with a certain ideal colouring that imparts to them a peculiar charm. The foreign *genre* of the pastoral is treated with skill and originality, so that it is not the imitation so much as nature itself which is felt, appearing purified by the delicacy and grace of art.

In the same way as Guido Guinicelli, so, too, Guido Cavalcanti wrote poems in which he leaves this abstraction for the nonce, in order to turn in a scoffing spirit to the life that surrounded him. This may be remarked in the sonnet addressed to Guido Orlandi, concerning the miraculous image of Orsanmichele. He is more bitter in the sonnet, "Guata, Manetto, quella scrignotuzza," in which he describes an over-dressed hunch-backed woman and the endless laughter she arouses when she struts along beside a beautiful woman. Here we have the transition to the humorous poetry that was beginning to spring up in the Tuscan cities by the side of the philosophical lyrics, and strongly contrasting with these. In the free communes a cheerful, material life was developing, together with the wealth that had been accumulated by dint of industry and commerce. This age of religious enthusiasm was at the same time full of a fresh delight in life. It was not everybody that mortified himself. Men loved brilliant feasts, and just as the flagellants, filled with their ascetic zeal, formed brotherhoods for their pious aims, so, too, young people met together in societies, for the purpose of enjoying the pleasures of life. The grammarian Buoncompagno, as early as the year 1215, gives an account, in his "Cedrus," of such societies, of which there were, according to him, more in Tuscany than anywhere else: "Certain societies of young people," he says, "are being formed in many parts of Italy, that adopt names such as the Society of the Falcons, the Lions, the Round Table, and the like. And although this custom is spread over the whole of Italy, yet it is specially prevalent in Tuscany, seeing that here it would be hard to find young people in any town who are not bound together by oath." Giovanni Villani, in his chronicle (vii. 89), describes to us the year 1283 as the time at which Florence was at the height of its prosperity. In June of that year, during the feast of St. John and at the instigation of the family de' Rossi, a society of more than a thousand persons was formed, all dressed in white garb, under a leader who called himself "Lord of Love," "and this society devoted itself to nothing but games and pleasures, dances of ladies and knights and burghers, who joyfully and merrily marched through the town with trumpets and other instruments, or came together

at banquets." This "court," as Villani calls the festival, lasted almost two months, and it was swelled from other parts by courtiers and *jongleurs*. At that time there were about three hundred knights in Florence and many companies of knights and young nobles, who banqueted in the morning and at night with numerous minstrels, making them presents of valuable clothes, and whenever a distinguished stranger passed through Florence they vied with one another in inviting him and in accompanying him on horseback both in the city and beyond its walls. In another passage (vii. 132) Villani describes the May festivals, with their processions of beautifully attired youths and women, wearing lovely wreaths, and with their public dances, games, and banquets.

This gay enjoyment of life, this pleasure in feasts and entertainments, is expressed in the verses of Folgore da San Gemignano. In sonnet cycles he celebrates the pleasures of the various months and of the various days of the week, the former for the amusement of a merry society in Siena, the latter for a friend in Florence, Carlo di Messer Guerra Cavicciuoli; and one Cene dalla Chitarra of Arezzo, angry at Folgore's boastings, composed burlesque parodies of his facetious poems. The attempt has been made to identify the company to which Folgore's first series of sonnets is addressed with the famous *brigata godereccia* or *spendereccia*, whose mad extravagance was condemned by Dante in the "Inferno" (xxix. 130). According to the commentators this consisted of twelve young men, who out of their fortunes put together 216,000 florins, an enormous sum in those days, purchased a magnificent palace in Siena, and with their gluttony squandered the money in ten months. If this is the correct interpretation, Folgore's Niccolò would be identical with the man mentioned by Dante as the inventor of the dish of the *costuma ricca del garofano*, and who, according to some annotators, was of the family of the Salimbeni, according to others, of that of the Bonsignori. Benvenuto da Imola tells us that two canzoni were written on the *brigata spendereccia*, *quarum altera continet delicias eorum et delectationes eorum*, *altera vero calamitates et miserias*, *quas habituri erant*, and D'Ancona does not doubt that these poems are the sonnet cycles of Folgore and Cene that have come down to us, the former celebrating the time of splendour and

enjoyment, while the other prophesied the misery of the impoverished company. However, Giulio Navone has brought some very weighty arguments to bear against this theory. The final sonnet of Folgore's *corona* on the months gives not merely the name Niccolò, but, according to an improved reading, that of Niccolò di Nisi; and Navone found a Nicolaus Bindini Nigii, of the house of the Tolomei, mentioned about the year 1337. Moreover, a Nicolaus Bandini of Siena acted, in 1309, as commissary at the conclusion of peace between Volterra and S. Gemignano; and in the very war that was ended by this treaty, Carlo Cavicciuoli of Florence had fought on the side of the people of Gemignano as *condottiere*. Of course it is not certain whether Nicolaus Bandini is identical with Nicolaus Bindini Nigii, and whether he is the person to whom Folgore dedicated his sonnets. But it becomes highly probable from the coincidence that this man was, at exactly the same time, acting together with the other one, to whom the second *corona* is certainly addressed, in the interest of the poet's native city, where he could have made his acquaintance and become his friend. It has therefore also been held that the sonnets should not be assigned a date earlier than 1309, especially in view of the fact that, as we shall see, Folgore was certainly still writing poetry in 1315. It must be remembered that there was a number of societies that aimed at making life gay, though they may not have gone to such extremes as the *brigata spendereccia*. Besides, Folgore's *corona* contains no distinct allusions to an extravagant company. We find in it nothing but all the splendid things, all the representations of constant happiness and welfare, such as a man would wish for himself and his good friends if he were once to allow his imagination free play: and, indeed, we have nothing but wishes. The good Folgore enumerates everything that he would like to give and procure for his dear friends, if he could; if it had been a question of such madness actually taking place, there was no occasion for him to wish, he need only have described. And finally, living merrily, delighting in what is offered by the various seasons, now in hunting, fishing, and jousting, now in love, dances and games, now in wandering through fresh gardens and along clear springs, now, too, in good cheer, all this is surely different from the dissolute gluttony of those

young men, who squandered hundreds of thousands in ten months. As regards Cene dalla Chitarra, his parody is directed not so much against the company as against its poet. He scoffs at his boastful gifts in words, and always gives or wishes the members the contrary—accordingly, not only hunger and cold such as may be prognosticated for spendthrifts, but many other things, that have nothing to do with the poverty that might be foreseen, such as an old woman as companion, a disgusting priest as superintendent, leeches and frogs as the result of fishing, gadflies and jumping donkeys instead of the beautiful girls, and curious owls in the place of falcons and sparrow-hawks.

Folgore's poetry, carelessly facetious in these sonnet cycles, was at times more serious. He is the author of three political sonnets of great power and boldness of satire, relating to the battle of Montecatini, in which the Florentine Guelphs and King Robert of Naples were defeated by the Ghibellines, under Uguccione della Faggiola. The party hatred that devastated the Tuscan communes, that caused so much bloodshed and drove so many noble families into exile and misery, re-echoes in these fierce and passionate poems. Folgore is a Guelph, and while reviling his victorious opponents, he lashes the cowardice of his own party, that has given the others their supremacy:

> Oh, Guelphs, through making shields out of your backs,
> The rabbits you have changed to lions' form,
> And through making such great use of your spurs
> When you your horses' reins held homeward turned.

He renounces his service of God himself, for having humbled the Guelphs:

> Eo non ti lodo, Dio, e non ti adoro,
> E non ti prego e non ti rengrazio,
> E non ti servo, ch'eo ne son più sazio,
> Che l'aneme di star en purgatoro. . . .

Still more skilful than Folgore and Cene in the handling of humorous poetry was Cecco Angiolieri of Siena, a poet of no ordinary talent and originality, who found his themes by preference in the lower conditions of every-day life. Cecco is mentioned several times in the registers of his native town,

under the year 1281, as having been fined for avoiding military service. His father, Messer Angiolieri, held offices of the commune, and subsequently entered the order of the *Frati Gaudenti;* in spite of his good position, he kept his son on a small allowance, so that he was unable to participate in those frivolous pleasures to which his disposition tended. He had been married to an ugly wife, and endeavoured to make up for this by the love of his Becchina, the daughter of a shoemaker, whom he has celebrated in his songs, after his own style. One of these sonnets on Becchina ("I'ho tutte le cose ch' io non voglio") contains the exact date, June 20th, 1291. He hated his house and his family, and loved the life of the tavern, drinking and gambling with merry comrades. Three things, he says, please him:

Cioè la donna, la taverna e' l dado,

"women, the tavern, and dice," and these three things, together with his wrath against those who prevent him from enjoying them, are the inspiration of his poetry. His thoughts and feelings are expressed with an unparalleled callousness, and the sonnets on his father are probably the most flagrant utterances of filial disrespect to be found in literature. He bewails the fact that the mean old man is in such good health and will not leave him the inheritance that he so ardently desires: "I have a father, who is very old and rich, and am always waiting for him to die; and he will die when the sea shall be without water, so healthy has God made him in order to torture me":

Chè ho un padre vecchissimo e ricco,
Ch' aspetto ched e' muoia a mano a mano,
Ed è morrà, quando 'l mar sarà sicco,
Sì l' ha Dio fatto, per mio strazio, sano.

When he at last died, there is no limit to the son's rejoicing: "Let the inhabitants of hell not despair, since someone has come out of it, who was nailed fast in it, and who thought that he would always have to remain there, and that is Cecco, as he is called. But now the page has turned so that I shall always live in glory, for Messer Angiolieri has gone off, who made me sorrowful both in summer and in winter."

Cecco's love is entirely sensual, far removed from the

Platonism of the Bolognese-Florentine lyrical poetry. Eventually his Becchina was married to another, and the relation between them became something like that of the lady and her lover in the one canzone of Compagnetto da Prato. But this passion, in spite of its vulgarity, has nevertheless the merit of sincerity and naturalness. We have here, as in everything that Cecco wrote, the direct expression of the inner man, and at times we hear fresh and simple tones, that recall popular poetry:

Io ho in tal donna lo mio core assiso,
Che chi dicesse: Ti fo imperadore
E sta che non la veggi per due ore,
Sì li direi: Va, che tu sii ucciso.

"My heart have I set on such a lady, that if anyone were to say: 'I make you an emperor, but be two hours without seeing her,' I would reply to him: 'The devil take you.'" Specially vivacious, too, are the numerous sonnets in dialogue form, in which the words fly quickly backwards and forwards between the poet and his mistress, and reproduce for us the actual tone of these conversations, now tender, now quarrelsome. But one poem has always been quoted with special predilection, and rightly so, for it shows off better than all the others Cecco's poetical characteristics, and is in itself one of the most perfect productions of humorous poetry in existence. The sonnet form, which is specially adapted to epigrammatic effects, is here handled in a masterly manner. Beginning with expressions of the fiercest animosity, with the wish to destroy mankind and to ruin the world, he ends the poem with a frivolous jest that springs from the play of the contrasts in an unexpected and highly effective manner:

If I were fire, I'd burn the world away;
  If I were wind, I'd turn my storms thereon;
  If I were water, I'd soon let it drown;
  If I were God, I'd sink it from the day;
If I were Pope, I'd never feel quite gay
  Until there was no peace beneath the sun;
  If I were Emperor, what would I have done?—
  I'd lop men's heads all round in my own way.
If I were death, I'd look my father up;
  If I were Life, I'd run away from him;
  And treat my mother to like calls and runs.

If I were Cecco (and that's all my hope),
I'd pick the nicest girls to suit my whim,
And other folk should get the ugly ones.[1]

Cecco stood for a time in relations with Dante, and to him are addressed three of his sonnets. From these we see that Dante, fully recognising Cecco's talent, had endeavoured, though vainly, to induce him to give up his mode of life, and to devote himself to worthier objects. Later on, he must have reproached him for being a parasite: Cecco was at the time, so it is reported, staying in Rome with the Sienese cardinal, Ricciardo Petroni. But Dante was, by this time, himself in exile, and compelled to avail himself of the support of others; the enraged Cecco accordingly threw back in his teeth his reproach against himself, in a sonnet which must have put an end to the friendsuip for all time. This poem, therefore, belongs to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cecco Angiolieri must have died about 1312, since his sons in this year gave up all claims to their encumbered patrimony, as was discovered by D'Ancona.

In the Florentine Rustico di Filippo, the friend of Brunetto Latini, we find the various manners of the time combined in a remarkable way. In some of his sonnets, he has not advanced in the smallest degree beyond the stage of the Sicilian school: thus, in the sickly dialogue with the lady: "Poichè vi piace ch'io mostri allegranza," or in the love entreaty: "Mercè, madonna, non mi abbandonate." But by him, too, is a sonnet, "Io aggio inteso che senza lo core," that astonished the critics with its clever points; while another one, "Tutto lo giorno intorno vo fuggendo," displays not only the cleverness and delicacy, but also the weaknesses of the Petrarchist school of poetry, with its antitheses concerning ice and fire. Finally, Rustico wrote a number of humorous pieces. Eighteen sonnets of this kind are printed —political satires, personal mockery, jests concerning petty domestic affairs and events, the undiluted representation of everyday life, sturdy and natural, and vigorously expressed, but unfortunately often obscure, by reason of the allusion to ephemeral matters.

With these poets of the realistic tendency, at the end of

[1] D. G. Rossetti's translation.

the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, we have reached the close of the first period of Italian literature. If we look back, we remark a variety of phenomena, which were not yet capable of producing a great literary work of absolute merit, but each of which contains the germs of future developments of importance, the beginnings of that which the succeeding centuries gradually completed. And thus the first period supplies the most significant explanation of the productions of those that follow: for a literary development cannot be grasped save by examining its origins. For this reason these earliest epochs of literature, that were formerly neglected, are now being rightly studied with special diligence—these epochs in which everything, even the smallest point, is of interest, as a mark of the intellectual life which develops with ever-increasing richness. We saw lyrical poetry first among the Sicilians, in a condition of absolute dependence on foreign models, that had given the impulse to its origin. Then, among the transition poets of the Bolognese and Florentines, it emancipates itself more and more, and even conventionalism assumes a peculiar and independent character, in face of the influences of foreign literature—a gradual progress, which finally produced, as mature fruit, the lyrics of Dante and Petrarca. Narrative poetry, so far as it treated chivalrous themes, remained under the ban of foreign literatures, and even of foreign languages. No themes for epic treatment were at hand. However, the gay and brilliant world of the legends of chivalry was loved by the people and attracted the curiosity of the masses. For a long while it lived on in the lower regions of literature, in the poetry of the roving minstrels. Still, it was destined, after nearly two hundred years, rendered more fertile by the introduction of the comic element, to attain a fresh artistic life, and to develop into the great romantic poems of Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto. The novel appears in the "Novellino" as bare, dry, and possessed of little interest; but still this book is the predecessor of the "Decamerone," in the same way as Folgore, Cene, Cecco and Rustico are the predecessors of men like Sacchetti and Pucci in the fourteenth, Burchiello in the fifteenth, and Berni in the sixteenth century, in these cases, indeed, without really being surpassed. However, the real popular poetry of this first period was religious

poetry, appearing in the form of narrative and didactic works among the Lombards and Venetians, and as lyrical poetry and the primitive drama in Central Italy. It was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and intimately connected with its thought and feeling, as these found their most splendid expression in the Church Jubilee of the year 1300, ordained by Pope Boniface. This religious poetry had hitherto remained in the hands of the people, and the germs of poetry still lay concealed in it: but it had, before and above all the rest, the claim and capacity of further development. This took place through Dante Alighieri, and the literary development of Italy reached its acme when, in his great poem, the mature art of the school was combined with the favourite subject of popular tradition.

X

DANTE'S LIFE AND MINOR WORKS

DANTE ALIGHIERI was not descended from one of the great Florentine families, but still from a stock whose past he himself regarded with a certain pride. One of his ancestors he immortalised in the "Commedia," namely, Cacciaguida, whose spirit he encounters in the planet of Mars ("Par." xv.). He had gone to the Holy Land with the crusading army of Conrad III. in 1147, been knighted by the Emperor and fallen there. His wife, he says, came to him from the valley of the Po. She was an Alighieri, or Aldighieri, probably from Ferrara; he called his son Alaghiero, after her family name, and this name of Alaghieri, later Alighieri, subsequently passed over to the family. The son of this Alaghiero was a certain Bellincione, and his son a second Alaghiero, who was the father of Dante. His mother Bella, of unknown descent, was probably the first of Alaghiero's two wives, as Dante is in documents always named before his brother Francesco, the son of Alaghiero's other wife Lapa Cialuffi, and was accordingly the older of the two; he must therefore have lost his mother at an early age. Dante's ancestors belonged to the Guelph party, and were, in the course of the thirteenth century, twice compelled to flee from the town—in 1249, when Frederick of Antioch, the son of the Emperor Frederick II., came to the aid of the Ghibellines, and in 1260, after the battle of Montaperti. On the second occasion, the Guelphs did not return to Florence till the beginning of the year 1267. But whether it be that Dante's father Alaghiero was not banished with the rest in 1260 (perhaps because he was too young and therefore not dangerous), or that he was permitted to return sooner, or that Donna Bella came back earlier by herself, the fact

remains, being attested both by the poet himself and by the oldest biographers, that Dante was born at Florence in 1265, and baptised in the church of S. Giovanni. We have no account of the education he enjoyed in his youth. Ever since Boccaccio it has been the custom to call Brunetto Latini Dante's master, and this opinion had its origin in the beautiful verses full of love and gratitude, in which he has spoken of Brunetto ("Inf." xv. 82). It is true that they show beyond a doubt that the author of the "Trésor" had a considerable influence on Dante's intellectual development; he was probably a paternal friend, who supported the younger man with counsels and doctrines, and directed and encouraged him in his studies, without being his teacher in the ordinary sense. A man like Brunetto Latini, who was then taking part in public life and was secretary of the republic, could not well have kept a school or given regular private lessons in Florence. We do not know when this intercourse with Dante took place: it is possible that Brunetto was one of the *Filosofanti*, whose disputations the poet attended after the year 1291 ("Convivio," ii. 13).

Towards the end of the eighties Dante had joined in several military expeditions of his native town. In 1288 he appears to have taken part in the inroads made by the Florentines into the district of the Ghibelline city of Arezzo; and, according to the statement of Leonardo Aretino, based on a letter of Dante's, now lost, he fought against the Aretines in the battle of Campaldino (June 11th, 1289), in the front rank of the Florentine cavalry. In the same year he was also present when the fortress of Caprona was taken from the Pisans, as we learn from a passage in the "Commedia" ("Inf." xxi. 95).

The great event of Dante's youth is his love, and the figure that dominates everything and fills his entire life is Beatrice. He saw her for the first time when they both were children, he nine and she eight years of age. She appeared to him "clothed in a most noble colour, a humble and subdued red, girded and adorned as became her very youthful age." And his life-spirit began to tremble violently; for he has found one who will dominate him. From that time he feels himself urged on to seek the place where he may see this "youthful angel." One day, after the lapse of another

space of nine years, from the day of the first meeting, she appears to him again, robed in the purest white, between two other ladies, and "passing along the way, she turned her eyes . . . and by her ineffable courtesy . . . she saluted him in such virtuous wise, that he appeared to behold the highest degree of bliss." It was the first time that her voice reached his ear, and it fills him with such joy, that he is as it were intoxicated, and takes refuge from the intercourse of man in the solitude of his chamber. He falls asleep and has a dream. On waking he puts it down in verse, and this was the origin of Dante's first sonnet:

A ciascun' alma presa e gentil core,
Nel cui cospetto viene il dir presente,
A ciò che mi riscrivan suo parvente,
Salute in lor signor, cioè Amore.
Già eran quasi ch' atterzate l'ore
Del tempo che ogni stella è più lucente,
Quando m'apparve Amor subitamente,
Cui essenza membrar mi dà orrore.
Allegro mi sembrava Amor, tenendo
Mio cor in mano, e nelle braccia avea
Madonna involta in un drappo, dormendo.
Poi la svegliava, e d'esto core ardendo
Lei paventosa umilmente pascea;
Appresso gir ne lo vedea piangendo.[1]

The poem is addressed to the lovers, that is, to the poets, and demands an explanation of the dream. In these verses, written by Dante at the age of eighteen, we have an allegory in the form of a vision, a psychological process symbolically represented—Amore giving the loved one to eat of the poet's heart; images these, which appear to us grotesque, but which are full of significance and rich in ideas. Here we have again the poetic manner of the new Florentine school, and so we can understand how Dante da Majano, the repre-

[1] To every captive soul and noble heart, that comes to see the present song, so that they may write me back their opinion, greeting in the name of Love, their lord. Already had a third almost of the time passed, in which each star shines brightest, when suddenly Amore appeared to me, to recall whose being fills me with horror. Joyous seemed Amore to me, holding my heart in his hand, and in his arms he held Madonna sleeping, wound in a cloth. Then he woke her, and of this glowing heart he gently gave her to eat, she showing signs of fear. Then I saw him go his way weeping.

sentative of the old Provençal manner, received the sonnet in a hostile spirit and answered it in an indecent and scoffing manner, while Guido Cavalcanti congratulated the new poet from his heart, and from that time remained the dearest of his friends.

Of his love Dante has told us himself in a little book called "La Vita Nuova" ("The New Life"), a prose narrative interspersed with the poems that owe their origin to the feelings which are treated in them, and which are interpreted in the prose sections. The "new life" is that life which began for the poet with the first ray of love. This love of Dante is ethereal and pure, and is elevated high above sensuality. The loved one is the ideal that has come to life, something divine, descended from heaven, in order to impart to the world a ray of the splendour of Paradise. She appears to him robed in the "noblest colour," she appears to him robed in "the whitest colour"—it is truly an apparition, something from above that has come down to him. Quite at the beginning she is "that very youthful angel," and then always "that most noble one." He scarcely ventures from time to time to call her by her own name of Beatrice, though this name, too, has its lofty meaning: she is one who spreads around her bliss (*beatitudine*).

The story of Dante's love is a very simple one. The events are all so insignificant. She passes him in the street and greets him; he sees her with other ladies at a wedding banquet, and she scoffs at him; he learns from the ladies how she laments over her father's death. Such are the events narrated: but they all become significant in the heart of the worshipper. It is an inner history of emotions, touching in its tenderness and sincere religious feeling. A breath of this pure worship communicates itself to us, so that it does not appear to us exaggerated.

This love in its extreme chastity is timid; it conceals itself from the eyes of others and remains for a long time a secret. So great, indeed, is Dante's fear lest his sacred feelings be exposed to profane looks, that, when he cannot hide the passion that burns within him, he makes people believe that another woman is the cause of them. Twice he finds a beautiful woman, who thus serves him as it were as a screen. On her he turns his eyes when he meets her,

to her apparently his verses are addressed. The splendour of the divinity herself does not permit to look at her; her presence dazzles and confounds him—almost robs him of his senses. However, on the second occasion he carries this dissimulation so far, that it is taken for truth by the people, and also by Beatrice, who for a time withholds her greeting from him.

The tone of the whole narrative is solemn—almost religious. The poet is fond of applying Biblical words to his case. Thus he begins one sonnet with the lines: "O voi che per la via d'amor passate, Attendete e guardate, S'egli è dolore alcun quanto il mio grave"; and these are the words of Jeremiah: "O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor sicut dolor meus."—"Quomodo sedet sola civitas," he exclaims in the words of the same prophet, after Beatrice's death, and this event is, in the prophetic vision (cap. 23), accompanied by terrible natural disturbances, like the death of Christ. Take, for example, the beginning of the narrative: "Nine times already since my birth had the heaven of light (*i.e.*, of the sun) returned to almost the same point, in respect to its own revolution, when before my eyes appeared for the first time the glorious mistress of my mind, who was called by many Beatrice, without their knowing what they called thus" (meaning, without their knowing that she actually was Beatrice, the dispenser of bliss). Or again, in cap. 5: "One day it happened that this most noble lady sat in a place, where one heard words of the Queen of glory (Mary), and I was in a spot, from which I saw my happiness. . . ." He avoids the mere name of the thing, and employs instead some circumlocution, because the other appeared to him too vulgar. The city of Florence is never named; it is called "the city in which my mistress was set by the Highest Lord" (cap. 6), or "the city in which was born, lived and died the most noble lady" (cap. 41). Beatrice's brother is not designated by this term, but as follows: "And this one was so closely connected with this glorious one by blood relationship, that no one was nearer to her." Such a method of exposition cannot condescend to a description of the objects: these are touched only in the most general way. Beatrice is always being celebrated, her eyes, her

smile, and her mouth are extolled: but it is their influence and power that are insisted on, not their external appearance. Of the surroundings of the loved one, of the localities and people, we are given only a few cursory hints. We have here an existence that lies entirely apart from actual events; these are shown now and again from a distance, but only in order to give an impulse to the rich inner life. Events are here assigned a different standard for their relative importance from that prevailing in ordinary life.

Beatrice is the ideal of Platonic love; the passion for her is the way leading to virtue and to God. "When she appeared anywhere," Dante says (cap. 11), "there remained to me no enemy in the world, through hoping for her wondrous greeting; rather was I imbued with the flame of charity, that made me forgive all who had offended me, and if anyone had then asked me for anything, my reply would have been only 'Love,' with a countenance clothed with humility." She spreads about her as it were an atmosphere of purity. Wherever she appears, all eyes are turned on her, and when she greets anyone, his heart trembles, he lowers his countenance and sighs over his faults. Hate and anger flee from before her, nothing ignoble persists in her presence, and the ladies that accompany her appear more amiable and more virtuous when they are illumined by her radiance. Beatrice's nature is more that of an angel than of a woman. In her there is nothing earthly, and she takes no part in earthly things; as on angels' wings she is lightly wafted through this life, till she flies back to that other life whence she came. A presentiment of her death pervades the entire narrative from the beginning, from the very first sonnet. The angels demand her, and it is only God's mercy that can refuse her for a time, to console the world and the lover.

What is the goal of the lover's desire? Not possession; for how can a man wish to possess that which he does not consider earthly? Those who can ask why Dante did not marry Beatrice have not rightly understood the nature of this passion. Her look, her greeting, these are all that he ardently longs for, and in these he sees the fulfilment of his wishes. And when she denies him her greeting, he is happy in considering and extolling her perfection. "With what

object dost thou love thy mistress, seeing that thou canst not endure her presence?" the ladies ask him (cap. 18), and he replies: "The aim of this my love was formerly the greeting of this lady . . . and in it dwelt the happiness and the end of all my desires. But since it pleased her to withhold it from me, my lord Amore has, in his mercy, set all my happiness in that which cannot be taken from me." And being asked what that might be, he says: "In those words that extol my lady." There is nothing said as to whether she returned his love; and we are scarcely told whether she knew anything about it. The divinity feels no passion; enough if he can worship it. It is true that his imagination once carries him away, and he dreams of a fabulous happiness, of being together with the loved one, in a boat, on the solitary sea, without being disturbed by the cold world, and accompanied only by his dearest friends. This mood gave rise to the sonnet: "Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io;" but this beautiful poem, in which the mystic veil is for once rent asunder, was excluded from the collection of the "Vita Nuova"; it would not have harmonised with the general note of that book.

Beatrice represents in its highest perfection that ideal of spiritual love, which had been celebrated previously in the verses of Guido Guinicelli and of Guido Cavalcanti. With his first sonnet, Dante had joined the new Florentine school of poetry, that of the *dolce stil nuovo*; with his first poem of greater importance, the sonnet "Donne che avete intelletto d'amore," he took the place in it that was due to him. This shows no great innovation as yet, and Dante can scarcely have intended to claim such for himself, when he makes Buonagiunta Urbiciani say in the "Purgatorio" (xxiv. 49):

> But say if him I here behold, who forth
> Evoked the new-invented rhymes, beginning:
> *Ladies, that have intelligence of love.*

The conventionalism of the school reappears with Dante. Here we have again Amore, the ruler of the soul, and the soul itself in abstractions and personifications, while grief and death are personified too. The psychological processes are depicted in the traditional manner, that is to say, not as such, not as inner occurrences, but in a materialised and

symbolical form. The spirits of life and love and the thoughts come, go, fly, speak and struggle with each other in an entirely substantial manner. The soul speaks with death, and complains of it as of a person, that is accordingly endowed with all personal attributes. The parting soul embraces the spirits, who weep because they lose its company (in the canzone, " E' m' incresce di me sì duramente "). If we desire to obtain a clear idea of the relation between Dante's lyrical poetry and that hailing from Bologna, we have only to read the sonnet concerning the origin of love (" Vita Nuova," cap. 20). Dante, too, was asked by a friend to solve the famous problem, and he replied as follows:

Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa,
Sì come 'l Saggio in suo dittato pone;
E così esser l'un sanza l'altro osa,
Com' alma razional sanza ragione.
Fagli Natura, quando è amorosa,
Amor per sire e 'l cor per sua magione,
Dentro allo qual dormendo si riposa
Tal volta brieve e tal lunga stagione.
Beltate appare in saggia donna pui,
Che piace agli occhi sì che dentro al core
Nasce un disio della cosa piacente.
E tanto dura talora in costui,
Che fa svegliar lo spirito d'amore,
E simil face in donna uomo valente.[1]

We may note here the grace of the expression, and a certain vivacity in the image that reveals the poet and, as it were, transforms the abstract theme into a little drama. But the idea is in harmony with the spirit of the school; the sage introduced in the sonnet is no other than Guido Guinicelli, and his poem, the canzone concerning *Amore* and the *cor gentile*. From this piece Dante borrowed the idea that a noble heart could not exist without love, nor love without a

[1] Amore and the noble heart are one, as the sage says in his poem; and one can be without the other as little as a rational soul without reason. Nature makes them when she is full of love, Amore as lord, and the heart as his dwelling, in which sleeping he rests, now for a short and now for a long while. Beauty appears thereupon in a virtuous lady, who pleases the eyes, so that within the heart is born a desire for the pleasing object. And at times this lasts so long in him, that it awakes the spirit of love; and the same is caused in a woman by a virtuous man.

noble heart; the rest is nothing but the old theory of seeing and pleasing, so that Dante did not even display more genius in treating the question than so many others.

Dante shared with his predecessors their mode of thought, their theoretical convictions as to the essence and character of poetry, their conception of love and their entire poetical apparatus. What distinguished him from and raised him above them was his superior poetic gift. He did not create the language, but he had mastered it more thoroughly than all the others. He treats the same themes in the same manner; but they are consecrated afresh and endowed with originality by reason of the depth of his feeling. He employs the traditional forms, but the subjects treated have been experienced by himself: they come from the heart and are often expressed with delightful tenderness and sincerity. Immediate inspiration by the feelings he himself designated, in the verses of the "Purgatorio" mentioned above, as the distinctive mark of his poetry.

Filled with this deep sincerity and warmed by true feeling, in spite of all its idealism, is the tender, ethereal image of the loved one as it appears to us in the ballad, "Io mi son pargoletta bella e nuova," a poem that does not belong to the collection of the "Vita Nuova," but which undoubtedly refers to Beatrice. This image of the loved one is pure and sacred as that of a Madonna, and yet graceful, almost child-like, in its ingenuousness. She is an angel come from heaven, and wishes soon to return thither; but first she desires to show us a ray of her light, a ray of the heavenly place whence she came. Her eyes are bright with all the virtues of the stars, and no charms were denied her by the Creator, when he set her in the world. And she rejoices in her beauty and purity, and communicates some of it to the others. She smiles, and her smile tells of her home, of Paradise. The qualities attributed by the poet to his beloved in extolling her, are the same as were regularly celebrated ever since Guinicelli wrote. However, we have no mere repetition of commonplaces, but a deeply felt enthusiasm pervades this glorification and gave birth to some of the most fragrant blossoms of Italian lyrical poetry, such as the sonnets, "Negli occhi porta la mia donna amore," "Vede perfettamente ogni salute," and especially the following one:

Tanto gentile e tanto onesta pare
La donna mia, quand' ella altrui saluta,
Ch'ogni lingua divien tremando muta,
E gli occhi non l'ardiscon di guardare.
Ella sen va sentendosi laudare,
Benignamente d'umiltà vestuta,
E par che sia una cosa venuta
Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare.
Mostrasi sì piacente a chi la mira,
Che dà per gli occhi una dolcezza al core,
Che 'ntender non la può chi non la prova.
E par che della sua labbia si muova
Un spirito soave pien d'amore,
Che va dicendo all' anima : sospira.[1]

In this sigh of the soul spiritualised passion has found its true expression. The beloved is transfigured, but she has not become an abstraction : the ideal does not tear itself away from the concrete image of the beauty in which it is incorporated. We see the lady, full of grace and virtue, go her way adorned with all her charms.

The first poem of Dante was a vision ; so, too, was his last, his great work. And in the "Vita Nuova," in general, visions play no small part. The dream was regarded by the age as significant and prophetic ; it is the form corresponding to a feeling of presentiment that passes over into the other world. A vision is depicted in the canzone that is rightly considered to be the most perfect poem of this first period of Dante's lyrical work. It begins with the words—"Donna pietosa e di novella etade." Here it is pain that unfetters the poetry and frees it from all conventional elements. Once, while the poet himself is ill, the thought comes to him that Beatrice, too, will die, and that he will lose her. Thereupon he falls asleep and dreams that she is really dead. And he sees women going about weeping and

[1] So noble and so honourable appears my lady, when she greets anyone, that every tongue trembling becomes dumb, and the eyes do not dare to look at her. She goes her way when she hears herself praised, gently clothed with humility, and she appears as a being come from heaven to earth in order to show us a miracle. So pleasing she shows herself to him who beholds her, that through the eyes she sends a joy into the heart, that only he can understand who experiences it himself. And from her lip appears to move a gentle spirit full of love, that says to the soul : "Sigh."—There may be a connection between this sonnet and Guido Cavalcanti's "Chi è quella che vien."

with unbound tresses. He sees the sun darkened and the moon appear, and the birds falling from the air and the earth trembling, and one of his friends appears to him with discoloured face and cries to him: "What art thou doing? Dost thou not know the tidings? Dead is thy mistress that was so beautiful."

Che fai? non sai novella?
Morta è la donna tua, ch'era sì bella.

And he raises his eyes streaming with blood, and sees the angels returning to heaven "even as a rain of manna," and before themselves they have a little cloud, and all sing "Hosanna":

E vedea (che parean poggia di manna)
Gli angeli che tornavan suso in cielo,
Ed una nuvoletta avean davanti,
Dopo la qual cantavan tutti Osanna.

And thereupon he goes to behold the mortal remains of his beloved, and sees women covering her with a veil, and over her was spread such true gentleness, that she seemed to say, "I am in peace." When he has seen that, he, too, begins to call on Death, to beseech and extol him; for henceforth he must be full of charm, and must show compassion, not wrath, since he has been in that most beautiful lady:

Morte, assai dolce ti tegno;
Tu dei omai esser cosa gentile,
Poichè tu se' nella mia donna stata,
E dei aver pietate e non disdegno.

The poem is moving in its simplicity. A whole world of feeling, of painful recollections, is compressed in those few words, "Morta è la donna tua ch' era sì bella," and we can already recognise the poet of the "Commedia" and his capacity to bring before our soul, in a few traits, a complete image, instinct with feeling:

Ed avea seco umiltà sì verace
Che parla che dicesse: io son in pace.

The figure of the departed one lies at rest, in such calm repose, that we long for her peace. It was thus that painters depicted the death of the saints.

It is curious, considering this piece, that Beatrice's death

itself should not have inspired any poem of distinction. The canzone, "Gli occhi dolenti per pietà del core," which refers to it, contains, perhaps, only two of these expressive and touching verses:

> Chiamo Beatrice, e dico: Or se' tu morta!
> E mentre ch'io la chiamo, mi conforta.

Beatrice died on June 9th, 1290, in her twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year. The "Vita Nuova," that is to say, the collection of the poems and the addition of the prose text, was not begun till after her death. It is everywhere plain that the commentary is much later than the poems, as, for instance, in the case of the very first sonnet. The true meaning of the dream, says Dante, with reference to the presentiment of his beloved's death contained in the last verse, was not seen by anyone at the time; but now it is plain to the dullest, that is to say, the prophecy is now fulfilled and Beatrice is no more. The close of the narrative goes more than a year beyond Beatrice's death. That brings us to the year 1292 as the date of the composition of the book, and this agrees with what Dante says in the "Convivio" (i. 1) that it was written at the beginning of his youth, that is to say, after the twenty-fifth year, and almost exactly with the words of Boccaccio in his "Vita di Dante," to the effect that the author wrote it when he was "about twenty-six years old"—more correct would have been, "at the age of twenty-six." Another opinion, according to which the "Vita Nuova" belongs to the year 1300, I regard as refuted, after Fornaciari's examination of the facts.

Love in so transfigured and exalted a form as it is represented in the "Vita Nuova," that intimate fusion of a symbol and a concrete being, became difficult to understand in later ages. Many doubted whether this love had ever been actually felt, while others could not conceive that the object of it was a mortal person, and consequently endeavoured to regard Dante's Beatrice as a mere symbol and allegory, as the personification of the poet's own thoughts, not having any basis on an actual personality. Boccaccio relates in his "Vita di Dante," that the lady celebrated by the poet was the daughter of Folco Portinari, and this state-

ment is repeated in his Dante commentary (lez. viii., p. 224), with the addition, that the authority for it rests with a trustworthy person, who had known Beatrice, and been connected with her in very close blood relationship. Of this Bice Portinari we know from the will of her father, that on January 15th, 1288, the date at which the document was drawn up, she was the wife of Messer Simone de' Bardi. That Dante should have loved and celebrated a married woman can cause but little surprise, in view of the manners of the age; the troubadours always extolled married women, and the Italian poets probably did likewise, though in their case we have no positive testimony. It was just from these relations that chivalrous love took its origin, as Gaston Paris has demonstrated in such a brilliant manner, and the mystical and spiritual love had nothing to alter in this respect. Dante's passion was for the angel, not for the earthly woman; her marriage belonged to her earthly existence, with which the poet was not concerned. We must beware of confounding our age with that of Dante. What a terrible event for the poets of our day is the marriage of the loved one to another! What tempests in the heart, what complaints, what despair! Dante does not allude to the event by a single word. But it would be wrong to deduce from this fact that it never took place; it was merely something of which that poetry took no heed, and which could find no place in it. Accordingly we have no valid reasons for doubting Boccaccio's statement. The houses of the Portinari were close to those of the Alaghieri, and Folco Portinari died on December 31st, 1289, which date tallies very well with the passage in the "Vita Nuova" which treats of the death of Beatrice's father. It is true that Boccaccio was the first to identify Beatrice with the one of the Portinari family, but there is nothing strange in that. Love affairs are not set out in official documents, and the report may well have been handed down by tradition till some one wrote the biography of the poet.

In the last century Biscioni endeavoured to prove that Beatrice was a personification of philosophy; the idea was absurd, if only for the reason that Dante had quite a different personification for philosophy, apart from Beatrice, both in the "Convivio" and in the "Commedia." Rossetti

who, in his political fantasies concerning the old Ghibelline poets, regarded all their mistresses, and especially Beatrice, as symbols of the Imperial power, never had a large following. Francesco Perez, in his book, "La Beatrice Svelata" (Palermo, 1865), surrounded his interpretation with an elaborate display of scholastic learning, which, however, on closer examination, proves to be a somewhat superficial collection of ideas taken from medieval philosophy, that are frequently misunderstood, and perhaps intentionally distorted. The Beatrice, both of the "Vita Nuova" and of the "Convivio" was, according to him, the active intelligence of the Averrhoistic Aristotelian doctrine. Dante's mistress would therefore be identical with the lady of Francesco da Barberino, and of the poet of the "Intelligenzia." However, Perez smuggled this whole idea of an active intelligence as a separate substance into Dante's philosophy, as into that of Thomas Aquinas. More recently the allegorical interpretation of Beatrice was expounded with great energy by Vittorio Imbriani, who, however, did not disclose what was hidden behind the veil; while Bartoli does not, it is true, regard Beatrice as a regular allegory, but still as an abstraction, as a mere creation of Dante's fancy, that is to say, as a general ideal of beauty and womankind, such as he imagined to have proved, on the strength of a very faulty line of reasoning, also for the other poets of the Florentine school. One of the main arguments of Imbriani and Bartoli for refusing to recognise the "Vita Nuova" as a historical narrative is, that, by publishing it, Dante would have been guilty of a criminal indiscretion, and sullied the good name of his beloved after her death. But they do not consider that, even though Dante may have called a mere creature of his imagination Beatrice or Bice, every uninitiated person must have regarded her as a real being, as, indeed, was done by the whole world for centuries, till the more modern commentators, with their deep and sharp scrutiny, gave us the unexpected information; and that, since, in Dante's time, there was in Florence and in his immediate neighbourhood, a Bice to whom the allusions to the abstraction happened to apply, her reputation was in danger of suffering, whether he meant her or not. All this being based on the assumption, the truth of which I do not

by any means admit, that what Dante had said of Beatrice was, in that age, capable of endangering a woman's reputation. Besides, when was the book published, and did it, when it first appeared, pass beyond a narrow circle of friends? And, when it became more widely known, was the husband of the dead woman still living, who alone could have objected to such a passion? Moreover, if it was a mere error on the part of the people to regard Beatrice as a real being, it seems strange that Dante nowhere protested against it. And he had an opportunity which would even have impelled him to correct the general misunderstanding, if any such existed. When he, in his later work, the "Convivio," continually set Beatrice against his other mistress, designated as *Donna pietosa* or *Donna gentile*, and when, at such length, he showed the latter to be a mere allegory, why did he not do the same for the former? He is so solicitous, lest the lady celebrated in his allegorical canzoni should be considered a woman of flesh and blood; and yet the danger was as great for Beatrice, nay, greater, seeing that he had treated of her in prose, giving some more precise details concerning her life. Why, then, did he not endeavour to provide against this danger? There can be no other explanation, than that she was generally considered to be the real person that she actually was.

It is an easy matter to detect in such a narrative apparent contradictions, improbabilities, and incongruities, if one compares them with our present manners and mode of thought; but it is far more difficult to take the allegorical interpretation seriously and to explain by its aid all the allusions to actual circumstances. When this is attempted, absurdities and lapses of taste appear, and in order to save the poet from the reproach of apparent improprieties, foolish and fantastic thoughts are attributed to him that are really unworthy of him, and ideas that are absolutely impossible for his time. These consequences that result from the system of over-subtle interpretation, really suffice in themselves to condemn it. Beatrice became for Dante a symbol, and in the "Commedia" she signifies heavenly light, revelation, and theology. But the symbol is, according to Dante's allegorical method, attached to the concrete person, and springs from it. The actual personality remains from begin-

ning to end, and the symbolical meaning is subjected to it in a secondary sense.

Beatrice died when the poet was twenty-five years old, and with her death ended the first period of his lyrical poetry that had been inspired by her. In his great sorrow he sought solace by reading the book that had comforted so many in the Middle Ages, the "Consolatio Philosophiæ" of Boethius, and then also Cicero's "De Amicitia." At first he succeeded only with difficulty in penetrating the thoughts of these authors; but finally he mastered them, being aided by his knowledge of Latin and by his natural talents. This is the beginning of Dante's philosophical studies which were, therefore, due to an inner craving on his part, and always intimately connected with his emotional life. He seeks in the books consolation for the misfortune that has befallen him, and he finds more than he sought: the view of that treasure of wisdom is opened to him that was with him throughout the remainder of his life, and aided him in maintaining his loftiness of character in the midst of necessity and sorrow. He begins to attend the schools of the priests and the disputations of the philosophers, and in the comparatively short space of about thirty months, he has acquired so much knowledge, that for love of it all other thoughts disappear ("Conv." ii. 13). In the "Convivio" he says that before he had seen many things "as in a dream," that is to say not clearly, which might be remarked in the "Vita Nuova;" and, indeed, erudition is not entirely absent from this book. It is seen, though not displayed to advantage, in the pedantic divisions of the poems, which were generally adopted by commentators of that period and later, and which at times, after a poem warm with emotion, have on the reader the effect of a cold plunge-bath. This erudition appears in the passage where he, on the occasion of Beatrice's death, occupies himself with the symbolism of the number nine, that recurs so frequently in the dates of her life, recalling the fact that there are nine heavens, referring to Ptolemy and astronomy, and finally discovering that Beatrice herself was a nine, that is to say, a miracle, whose sole root is in the Holy Trinity, a point, the subtlety of which, especially in this context, is offensive to our feeling, but not to that of the medieval reader, who believed in such

symbolical meanings, and saw the hand of God in the marvellous disposition. Twice in the little book Aristotle is quoted. But all this is due rather to recollections of lessons received in early youth, than to the earnest studies that came later.

Dante's philosophy is that of the schoolmen: it is closely related to theology and bounded by this science. Theology is the loftiest of sciences, to which all the others are subjected, and towards which all of them, not excluding philosophy, take up a servile position. Damian's famous saying still had its full force. Human reason has its limit, beyond which it cannot pass, and which it may not even attempt to overstep: beyond this point divine grace alone can give light. The highest principles, God, the angels and original matter (the *materia prima*) cannot be grasped by us: of them we know through faith alone. The most perfect proof of the immortality of the soul is supplied by the Christian doctrine: "We see it perfectly through faith; and through reason we see it with a shadow of obscurity, which arises from a mingling of the mortal and immortal elements within us" ("Conv." ii. 9). The teaching of the Church supplies the philosopher with a given subject matter, which he may elaborate and explain, and from which he may make his deductions, but which he is not permitted to ignore or to invalidate. He seeks truth by a different way, but theology has the last word. In his discourse concerning the grafting of the divine principle on to the soul ("Conv." iv. 21), Dante closes the natural, that is to say, the philosophical exposition with the words: "And this is almost all that can be said on the basis of natural recognition." And then follows the devout and enthusiastic exposition based on theological doctrines (*per via teologica*). But philosophy is not useless; as with Thomas Aquinas, so, too, with Dante, the illumination of grace is made to pre-suppose reason and its uses, and the natural light. Philosophy becomes a support of religion, and in the canzone "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona," philosophy is said to "aid our faith; therefore it was created from all eternity." It makes many things manifest to us, and thus makes us desire that which is concealed, and, as it lets us see the reason of much that appears wonderful, "so one believes through it, that every

miracle may have its foundation in a higher intelligence, and that it may therefore exist" ("Conv." iii. 14). This is the greatest glory, the highest aim of earthly wisdom—to show us the way to divine wisdom, not to solve the problems of the world by itself.

And so Dante philosophised in a strictly Christian spirit. It is open to doubt whether he ever forsook this path. We have a trace of such a secession, on which stress was laid by Witte, in a passage of the "Convivio" (iv. 1), where the author says that, at the period at which he composed the canzone "Le dolci rime d'amor ch'io solia," he occupied himself, among other things, with the question as to whether the *materia prima* of the elements was created by God, and that he had encountered such difficulties over this point, that he had temporarily given up philosophy, that is to say, strictly speaking, metaphysics. Now, this question was settled by the Church. We have, therefore, some ground for supposing that Dante, at a certain period of his life, had, with his critical reason, intruded into realms from which reason was excluded by faith. Then again, Beatrice's reproaches in the "Purgatorio" (xxxiii. 85, *sqq.*) point, among other delinquencies, also to presumption in the matter of thinking. In any case, however, if Dante passed through a period of metaphysical doubt, we must not look for any traces of it in the "Convivio" or in the philosophical canzoni, as they contain nothing beyond the casual remark we have quoted.

In addition to the authority of the church, that brooks no contradiction, there are others, less inviolable, but still difficult to controvert. Such are the philosophers of antiquity —Aristotle and his Arabian commentators (who were read in Latin translations), Plato, known to Dante only from the quotations of others, Cicero, and Boethius; the classical poets—Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan, whose narrative poems were allegorically interpreted or used as exemplifications of moral doctrines; finally the great schoolmen, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. The science of the time is shackled by authority. The sayings of these great men are regarded with the greatest reverence, exercise a tyrannical influence on research, and at times, openly or covertly, take the place of proof. The doctrines of Aristotle,

especially, form the basis of philosophy; authors are loth to reject them, and do their utmost to interpret them and to avoid coming into conflict with them. It is true that there are cases where his views do not conform to the teaching of the Christian faith, as in the conception of the heavenly intelligences, where Dante owns ("Conv." ii. 6) that the truth was concealed from Aristotle and from every pagan. But such cases are rare, and, as a general rule, Aristotle is, in the scholastic philosophy, the best defender of the Christian dogmas. Dante held that in him profane wisdom had attained its most perfect expression. He, in common with Thomas Aquinas and the other schoolmen, calls him simply the philosopher,[1] or the "glorious philosopher to whom nature revealed her secrets more than to any other" ("Conv." iii. 5), the "teacher and leader of human reason" (*ib.* iv. 6), and, in the "Commedia," "the master of those that know." His authority sufficies to set aside, without further ado, that of the other philosophers, such as Pythagoras or Plato; when he expressed his "divine opinion," all the others must be abandoned ("Conv." iv. 17). He is the guide to that which constitutes the real goal of this earthly existence, to happiness by the road of virtue (*ib.* iv. 6). "The Peripatetics," Dante says, "now rule the entire world in science, and so their teaching may almost be called Catholic."

Dante's philosophy is that of his age. We must not endeavour to find in it any originality or special importance. Taken as a whole, it merely reproduces the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, at times also those of Bonaventura, with certain modifications and developments in particular points. Most of these doctrines are laid down in a work that was composed considerably later, the "Convivio," and they fill the "Commedia," for the comprehension of which poem it is necessary to be acquainted with them. The "Convivio" (Banquet) is a very full commentary to several of the poet's canzoni—a commentary which, seeing that it dilates at length on every subject that is only casually touched in the poems, would have become an encyclopædia, though not a systematic one, of the entire knowledge of the time, if the

[1] "Nam et automatice, id est excellenter 'philosophus' appelatur," said John of Salisbury, "Metalogicus," ii. 16.

author had not broken off on completing about a fourth part of the work, which, however, contains what was probably of most importance.

Moralising predominates in these treatises. But more interesting for us than this, which in its general abstraction is similar in all philosophical systems, is the metaphysical portion of Dante's work, above all, the doctrine of the soul, its origin and destiny, and the general treatment of this philosophical problem, at all times, and especially in the Middle Ages, considered one of paramount importance, and which subsequently became the subject of the "Commedia." As with Aristotle, the soul is the *entelecheia* (form) of the body. After it has been formed in its lower functions, and thus become living, the soul, as is likewise taught by Aristotle, receives from above its divine portion, the *intellectus possibilis*, so called, because it "contains potentially within itself the universal forms," the pure form of reason, which is existent before the reception of the individual conceptions, while the *intellectus agens* designates the intellect in the state of activity, filling itself with conceptions (iv. 21). Divine goodness gives the soul as much of itself as it deserves, that is, after the created being has been prepared for this by natural disposition. Divine goodness descends into every object that is created, but the objects receive it in various manners, just as bodies receive the sun's rays in various manners. Into the pure intelligences or separate substances, the angels, God radiates without interruption, but into the other creatures with a broken light, which is reflected by these very intelligences while they lovingly move the heavens (iii. 14). Thus arises a gradation in created things, from the angels to inorganic matter, and similarly a gradation in humanity, reaching from the angelic to the bestial. The divine spark in the soul impels it to love itself, but in true fashion, that is, the better part of itself, the spirit and what belongs to it, namely, virtuous life, and the contemplative even more than the active (iv. 22). The practice of virtue is, according to Aristotle's doctrine, human happiness, and this, Dante, in the "Convivio," considers to be also true human nobility. The highest form of happiness is the contemplation of the highest that is intelligible, namely, God. The soul longs for God as the

highest good, and is therefore impelled towards all that displays excellence, as this derives from God. However, it goes astray, by taking every object at first to be the true, entire and highest good; it hurries from one to the other, till it attains its goal, God Himself (iv. 12).[1] This is the way of life; but there are many roads, both straight and crooked. The highest happiness is not possible on earth; for that the other life is necessary, to which the theological virtues lead, and in which mercy grants us peace and satisfaction in God. From this train of thought we obtain also a philosophical derivation of love. It is defined as "spiritual union of the soul with the beloved object" (iii. 2). The soul that longs for God and finds the divine spark in another soul, longs for this soul, and desires to become united with it, all the more strongly in proportion as it is more perfect, and as the divine element is more apparent in it.

Connected with this theological philosophy is astronomy, which describes the outward form of the world that is permeated with God, the abodes of the world beyond, and their relation to the earth. In addition to this, astronomy went hand in hand with astrology, that was so jealously cultivated in the Middle Ages and at the time of the Renaissance. This science Dante did not recognise unconditionally; still, in common with all the intelligent people of his time, he attributed to the constellations a decisive influence on the disposition of souls at their birth, with the provision that free will was not to be regarded as set aside, and that the capacity for resisting this influence was to be held to exist. Accordingly a large space of the "Convivio" is devoted to astronomical matters. Among other doctrines that are of special importance also for the comprehension of the "Commedia," is that of the nine heavens, which surround one another in the form of spheres, and the immovable centre of each of which is the earth (ii. 3-6). The seven lower ones are the planets,

[1] Bonaventura, "Itinerar. Mentis in Deum," cap. 3: *Nihil autem appetit humanum desiderium, nisi summum bonum, vel quod est ad illud, vel quod habet aliquam effigiem illius. Tanta est vis summi boni, ut nihil nisi per illius desiderium a creatura possit amari. Quæ tunc fallitur et errat, cum effigiem et simulachrum pro veritate acceptat.* Almost the same thought occurs also in Boethius, "Phil. Cons." iii. 2, 3.

among which were reckoned the sun and the moon. Then follows that of the fixed stars, and then the first movable heaven, the *Primo Mobile*, also called the crystal heaven, because it is not visible—entirely transparent, and recognisable only by its motion. Finally, above all the rest, extends the motionless tenth heaven, the Empyrean, the heaven of pure light, in which the Deity and the blessed spirits have their seat. And from the circumstance that every portion of the *Primo Mobile* desires to be united with every portion of the blessed and peaceful *Empireo*, arises its inconceivably rapid motion, by means of which it makes the revolution from east to west in less than twenty-four hours, and transfers its own motion to the other spheres. The nine heavens are turned by the hierarchy of intelligences or angels, which are, according to the Christian doctrine, divided into nine orders, and which acquire their power by regarding the highest good with looks full of love. This, too, is the power that descends to the earth with the rays of each star, and influences the minds and destinies of mankind. In the same way as the philosophical doctrines are mostly taken by the schoolmen and by Dante from Aristotle and his commentators, so they derived their astronomy from Ptolemy and Avicenna; however, they corrected and supplemented both their philosophy and their astronomy by means of the dogmas of the Church.

If we examine the "Convivio" solely with a view to finding Dante's opinions on scientific questions, we fail to grasp the characteristic element of the book and of his knowledge in general. It was his temperament to feel everything keenly and ardently, so that everything became with him a longing and a passion; it is just this that made him the great poet. Knowledge did not remain for him, as with Brunetto Latini, a dead possession, a mere collection of learned details, but it became a living emotion. Everything was pervaded by his powerful personality. Pure science, which should exclude all individuality as far as possible, may have suffered from this, and we should not value Dante's science too highly. What interests us most in his scientific studies is, after all, his own personality. Love is defined by him philosophically, but philosophy itself becomes love in his eyes: it is a "loving commerce with wisdom" (iii. 12).

The "Convivio" is a product of scholasticism, with its heavy and syllogistic mode of exposition, its subtleties, its prolixity that endeavours to fathom and to prove everything, the smallest and clearest points as well as the greatest and most obscure. Nowadays this would be pedantry; in the Middle Ages it was the universal and necessary method of scientific research. This system is carried to its extreme in the elaborate comparison of the sciences with the ten heavens (ii. 14, *sq.*), grammar with the Moon, dialectic with Mercury, rhetoric with Venus, and so on till we get to the Empyrean, which is supposed to correspond to theology; the strange proofs for each comparison are also worthy of note. But this cloak of heavy pedantry cannot conceal the poet and the man from us. Dante's very conception of the universe gives play to the imagination. Full of poetry is the astronomical theory, the idea of the origin of the heavenly revolution, of love as the principle of the motion; love and light that permeate the entire universe and awaken every living thing and every instinct, the contrast between the inconceivable rapidity of the crystalline heaven and the blessed place of the divine Empyrean, from which nevertheless the movement is derived. We recognise the poet in certain images of great beauty, as in the passage (iv. 12) where Dante compares the soul in quest of God with the pilgrim, who, traversing an unknown road, regards every house that he sees as the inn, and when he is disillusioned, "fixes his faith on another, and so from house to house," till he reaches the true inn; or in that other passage (iv. 27) where he says of the aged man, who spreads the utility of the wisdom he has gathered in the course of a long life, by giving others the benefit of it, that he resembles the rose that can no longer remain closed, and exhales the fragrance that has accumulated in it. Then again we find many expressions full of vivacity and pictorial power, as when he calls laughter (iii. 8) "a flashing forth of the joy of the soul, that is, a light that appears without even as it is within."

And while he gives his instructions for the attainment of virtue, the reality presents itself to his mind's eye and imbues his discourse with a breath of life. He looks around him, and utters words of warning and reproach, when he sees the world leaving the true road. "Oh my unhappy,

my unhappy country," he exclaims, when speaking of justice and government, "what pity seizes me for thee, as often as I read, as often as I write concerning the government of the state" (iv. 27); and after praising the country that is ruled by wisdom, he turns to the princes of the time, and especially to Charles and Frederick, the kings of Naples and Sicily, who would do better "to fly low like the swallow, than, like the hawk, to make lofty circles over the vilest things" (iv. 6). When he wishes to give an example for the fact that we do not become noble because our name is on the lips of the people, he mentions the shoemaker Asdente of Parma, and, by the side of him, Alboino della Scala, the Lord of Verona (iv. 16). We have here the bold and haughty language of the "Commedia," which strikes by preference the loftiest summits with its bolts. In the tempestuous fervour of his conviction, his zeal rises to passion, when he, inveighing against a foolish opinion concerning human nobility, says that "one should reply to such bestiality not with words, but with the knife" (iv. 14).

And so it becomes conceivable how this epoch of scientific studies could impel Dante to the composition of a fresh style of lyrical poetry. The nature of the inspiration is, it is true, very different from the early style of the "Vita Nuova." We have here the transition to a specifically learned poetry, that requires long commentaries for its comprehension, like the canzone of Guido Cavalcanti, and the more so when this scientific subject-matter appears in allegorical form. It was in an allegorical cloak of this nature that Dante celebrated philosophy. The vulgar tongue did not appear to him to be worthy of treating so lofty a theme in its true shape. But, in addition to this, he desired by these fictions to adapt himself to the taste of the public, who were not accustomed to see aught but love treated in poems (ii. 13). Two of his allegorical canzoni, "Voi che intendendo al terzo ciel movete" and "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona," belong to the ones he interpreted in the "Convivio," and he took this opportunity of expounding the doctrine of poetical allegory and of the fourfold meaning of poetry ("Conv." ii. 1). "One must know," he says, "that writings may be understood and must be explained mainly in four senses." The first is the literal meaning (*senso litterale*), that is, the one

contained in the fable or narrative itself; the second is the allegorical, "that conceals itself under the cloak of fable, a truth hidden beneath a beautiful falsehood;" the third, the moral—a rule of moral conduct, deduced from the event narrated; and finally the fourth, the anagogic, that is, a reference to the eternal life ("referred upwards," *intellectus tendens ad superiora*, as Anselm said), the narrative being held to refer to the soul's condition in the other world.

Allegorical interpretation in a manifold sense had long been applied to the Holy Scriptures; it began in the early times of Christianity, and became more widely spread, especially through the efforts of Hilarius and Ambrosius. We found it, for example, in S. Damian in the eleventh century. In the twelfth century several Latin poems occupied themselves with it, the "De Creatione Mundi" of Hilbebert of Tours, and the enormous "Aurora" of Petrus de Riga. The most usual course in the earlier period is the division into a triple sense, the literal, tropological and allegorical. But later the fourfold sense occurs frequently, too; Cassianus, at the beginning of the fifth century, has an historical, tropological, allegorical, and anagogic interpretation, which terms are again used by Bonaventura. The quadruple sense with the same names and the same conception as in the "Convivio" we find, among others, in a parable of Anselm, and in the "Summa" of Thomas Aquinas, who was probably, as usual, Dante's direct source. The allegorical interpretation of poetry and of classical mythology, on the other hand, was no less old, nay, even older. It began with the Greek philosophers, especially with the Stoics, who made the national faith acceptable to themselves by thus seeking for moral and physical truths in the fables: in this way they interpreted Homer's and Hesiod's poems. In the later Roman period this mode of interpretation was applied to Virgil by Macrobius, and still more by Fulgentius: the "Æneid" was held to contain the representation of the phases of man's development in the various periods of his life. That Virgil and the poetry of the ancients, as a whole, concealed philosophical truths beneath the cloak of fable was the general conviction of the Middle Ages and was very frequently expressed. This conception of ancient myth and poetry, which of course destroyed their real spirit, made

it possible for the devout Christian to occupy himself with heathen literature, and contributed in no small degree towards keeping alive the study of it throughout the Middle Ages. The allegorical explanation of the Bible, to which people were accustomed, made that other conception appear all the more natural. It is doubtful, however, whether anyone before Dante had transferred this entire biblical system of interpretation, with its manifold sense, to poetry, and it is certain that Dante was the first to apply it so consistently and with such distinction to Romance poetry. This was connected with the higher dignity to which the latter now attained. The vulgar poetry, in striving to rival that composed in Latin, was compelled to develop from the simple, unconscious pieces which had been sung by the people and courtly love poets, into that more serious class of piece which was represented by the Latin poetry. It became a science (as the Middle Ages always designated things poetical [1]), supplied the truth beneath the veil of an image, like the Bible and Latin poetry, and accordingly required the same method of interpretation.

The first and the second sense, says Dante, must always be defined, while the third and fourth are only touched on from time to time. The first, the literal, sense must be fully expounded, before the revelation of the second, the allegorical, sense can be proceeded with. And this is the course he adopts in interpreting his canzoni. The new mistress of whom the poems speak and for whom Beatrice had to make way, is no other than Philosophy, "the most fair and honourable daughter of the Emperor of the universe, to whom Pythagoras gave this name" ("Conv." ii. 16). A personification of philosophy appeared in Boethius and in his medieval imitators, Henricus Septimellensis and Bono Giamboni; they represented her as an august and venerable matron. But with Dante she is not merely the guide and teacher: she has been introduced into the love-poetry and has therefore become his mistress. The lady who, ever since Guinicelli, was the representative, the symbol of an idea, has now herself to yield to a personified idea, as in the "Intelligenzia" and with Francesco da Barberino. The beautiful eyes

[1] "And he says that he was a poet, that is, one skilled in the science of poetry." "Ottimo Commento," Inf. i. 67.

of the poet's mistress are now "the demonstrations that, directed to the eyes of the intellect, fill the soul with love" ("Conv." ii. 16); her smile stands for "the persuasions, in which the light of wisdom shows itself under a veil" (iii. 15); the "anguish of sighs" means "the toil of study and the struggle of doubt" (ii. 16); "a spirit of love" (*uno spiritel d' amore*) is a thought that springs from study; the hour in which one falls in love is that of the first demonstration; love in general is study.

However, as has been noted already, science, too, possesses for Dante poetical elements. Love is to signify study, but study itself is for him in reality love, a sacred fervour. Study, as he says (ii. 16), is "the occupation of the mind enamoured of the object with that object." In his scientific researches his feelings are mingled: study and love always appear united, and this may still be found in the famous verse of the "Commedia," *Valgami 'l lungo studio e'l grande amore.* This enthusiasm for the subject penetrates and inspires the allegorical canzoni, too. To this must be added another peculiarity, which makes these poems, in a measure, the real precursors of the "Commedia," namely, the independent development of the image, which, as an allegory, is, properly speaking, intended only to point to something else, whereas it here acquires an independent importance of its own, so that we may content ourselves with the shell, without paying any heed to the kernel. For this reason Dante makes his canzone "Voi che intendendo" say to those who are unable to penetrate more deeply into its hidden meaning, that they should at least note how beautiful it is:

Ponete mente almen com' io son bella.

In the great writers of antiquity he was accustomed to the palpable form of that which he regarded only as the shell, and this satisfied his instinct as an artist, who is not satisfied with mere phantoms. He went so far in this direction, that when these canzoni became known, many thought that they were addressed to a real mistress, and one of his objects in writing the "Convivio" was to free himself from this suspicion.

By the side of the canzone on the vision of Beatrice's death, the most perfect of Dante's first period of lyrical

poetry, may be set another scarcely less beautiful one belonging to this second manner—the one beginning "Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute." These three allegorical women represent justice in its various manifestations, as natural disposition (*Dirittura*), as universal human law, and as political law. Despised and misused by mankind, they have fled for refuge to the heart of the poet; for in this heart dwells Amore. He speaks to the three women, exhorting them not to weep and mourn. That may be left to mankind, that suffer by the treatment accorded to justice, while they themselves remain untouched in their eternal heights; and the poet, who was then already an exiled wanderer, rises proudly on learning with whom he shares his fate:

L' esilio che m' è dato onor mi tegno,
E se giudizio, o forza di destino
Vuol pur che il mondo versi
I bianchi fiori in persi,
Cader tra' buoni è pur di lode degno.[1]

But the feelings are mingled, according as they were struggling in the exile's heart. In spite of the loftiness and dignity, with which he sets himself against his persecutors, in the consciousness of having right and virtue on his side, yet the close is sorrowful. The longing for his country consumes him with pain. If he has done wrong, his fault is expiated by his sufferings and his penance:

Onde s' io ebbi colpa,
Più lune ha volto il sol, poi chè fu spenta,
Se colpa muore, pur chè l' uom si penta.[2]

It is this strong personal colouring that makes the poem so effective. In the description of the first of the three personifications we find this wonderful picture of the lamenting woman:

[1] The exile that is inflicted on me I consider an honour; and if judgment or force of destiny wishes, indeed, that the world should change white flowers into dark ones, still, to fall together with good folk is worthy of praise. (The word *buoni* of course refers to the three women, which fact, curiously enough, escaped Witte and Giuliani.)

[2] And if I was guilty of a fault, many months have passed since it was cleansed, if a fault dies as soon as the man repents.

Dolesi l' una con parole molto,
E 'n sulla man si posa
Come succisa rosa ;
Il nudo braccio, di dolor colonna,
Sente lo raggio, che cade dal volto ;
L' altra man tien ascosa
La faccia lagrimosa
Discinta e scalza e sol di sè par donna.[1]

"The bare arm, the column of grief," the bent head like the "broken rose," such living plastic images, that blossom forth from the midst of the allegorical moralisation, reveal to us the poet of the "Commedia," as we know him in his loftiest mood.

The canzone "Io sento sì d' amor la gran possanza" must also, in all probability, be taken allegorically, as, indeed, is generally done. This theory is supported by its double ending—the one of a general moral import, the other addressed to a definite person,—by the stress laid on the excellence of the canzone, and by the solemn and exalted tone of this beautiful poem. Specially effective is the first verse, which occurs again, in a similar form, in the "Purgatorio"; this beauty of the opening verses, in which the mood of the entire poem is, as it were, condensed, is a peculiarity of many of Dante's poems, which was noted by Leonardo Aretino already. Undoubtedly others of Dante's canzoni are likewise allegorical, but we are unable to detect them, any more than we would have recognised the "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona" as such a poem, if the author had not writtten a commentary on it. All the theories that have been set up are uncertain. On the other hand, we know from a statement of the poet himself ("Conv." iii. 9) that the ballad "Voi che sapete ragionar d' amore" is to be taken allegorically. It is a lament on the cruelty of the beloved, of no distinction in itself, but interesting in so far as it expresses its philosophical theme in the popular form of the dance-poem, which was originally intended only for the lightest subjects. This alienation of

[1] The one laments much with words, and rests herself on her hand like a broken rose ; the bare arm, the column of grief, feels the ray (of tears) that falls from her countenance ; the other hand holds concealed the tear-stained face ; ungirt and unshod she appears entirely lost in herself.

the *genre* from its original character had as a matter of fact been accomplished by Guido Cavalcanti already.

Dante's allegorical lyric poetry aims at extolling philosophy; but in the cases where it is a question of a moralisation with a specific practical object, and where the reader is intended to derive benefit from the piece, the canzone lays aside its beautiful form and again becomes a dry didactic poem. The truth that was to have a direct influence on the corrupted morals of mankind could not be concealed beneath an image, under which it would be recognised only with difficulty. "It was not good to speak under any figure; but it was fitting to dispense this medicine in a direct manner, so that the health might be restored in the most direct and rapid manner, which being ruined caused people to hurry to so hideous a death." These are the words employed by Dante in the "Convivio" (iv. 1) with reference to one of these canzoni, the one concerning nobility (*la Nobiltà*)—"Le dolci rime d' amor ch' io solia," which he is interpreting in that place. In addition to this we have two other poems of the kind, the canzone "Poscia ch' amor del tutto m' ha lasciato," concerning *Leggiadria*, that is to say, courteous manners, and "Doglia mi reca nella core ardire," concerning avarice and generosity. In these poems, then, the method employed is strictly scientific, without poetical ornament. We find in them the elaborate confutation of the opposite opinion, the syllogisms in regular form (*Udite come conchiudendo vado in Doglia mi reca*, stanza 7), the expressions of the language of the schools. In order to define virtue, Aristotle's "Ethics" are quoted in the verses (*Le dolci rime*). Carducci rightly noted that this dryness and pedantry recall the manner of Guittone of Arezzo, from whom Dante distinguishes himself only by dint of the greater energy and conciseness of his language. This is decidedly a retrograde step compared with the manner of instructing by means of images employed by Guinicelli, from whom Dante had borrowed the idea of the canzone concerning nobility, and whom he mentions with admiration in the commentary. But here again Guido Guinicelli had been in advance of his friend, with his canzone on love. And in one respect Dante's moralisations are even inferior to those of Guittone, inasmuch as their abstract development

prevents their moral purport being readily grasped by the reader. Who would be able to live according to these canons? The scholastic philosophy is subtle: in order to express ordinary things, it adopts fine distinctions and far-fetched comparisons, whereby the doctrines lose in practical value and cannot be grasped by the ordinary intellect. However, Dante sets great store on these canzoni, in which he had made poetry teach virtue. Perhaps he valued them more highly even than all the others; at any rate, he regarded them as the most characteristic products of his muse, and quoted the canzone "Doglia mi reca" in the book "De Eloquentia Vulgari" (ii. 2), in the passage where he called himself the singer of virtue (*rectitudo*). And this delight in subtly demonstrating abstract truths in verse is displayed again in a number of passages in the "Commedia," which the poet assuredly regarded as being among the most perfect in the work.

The philosophical lyrical poetry of Dante was produced at considerable intervals of time. The canzone "Voi che intendendo" is probably one of the earliest, perhaps the very earliest of this period, for it still celebrates the beginnings of his new love, and its struggle with the memory of Beatrice. It was composed at the latest in 1295, as the young King Charles Martel of Hungary, who died in that year, shows that he is acquainted with it, in the passage of the "Paradiso" (viii. 32), where Dante introduces him. The second canzone of the "Convivio," "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona," was at any rate composed some time before 1300; for the celebrated composer Casella sings it in the "Purgatorio." On the other hand, the poem "Tre Donne" refers to the exile of the poet. The three canzoni on *rectitudo* appear to be closely connected with one another and to have been composed one after the other; the two dealing with *Nobiltà* and *Leggiadria*, especially, show the greatest similarity. The one was, as we have seen, written at the period of metaphysical doubt; accordingly, one is inclined to place it somewhere prior to 1300, which is the date, even though it be only the fictitious date, of the vision and the great conversion. Like the commentary of the "Vita Nuova," so, too, that of the "Convivio" was worked out subsequently to the composition of the poems, in this

case, indeed, considerably later. The author speaks, at the beginning of the book, of his wanderings far and wide, in want and misery; consequently several years of his exile must have elapsed. The noble Gherardo da Cammino, captain of Treviso, is mentioned (iv. 14) as being dead, and he died on March 26, 1306. On the other hand, King Charles II. of Naples, who died on May 5, 1309, is alluded to (iv. 6) as living. And so the "Convivio" falls somewhere between the years 1306 and 1309, according to Witte's assumption, in the winter of 1308-9, this theory being supported by the gentler and more conciliatory nature of his feelings towards his native city, and by the general tone of resignation apparent in the book, which would be due to the fact that these months were for the exiles a period of utter hopelessness.

The "Convivio" was to explain fourteen canzoni, but only four treatises, that is, the introduction and the commentaries to three of the poems, were actually written. In all probability the expedition of Henry VII. interrupted the work, while the author's occupation with the "Commedia" prevented him from taking it up again. People have asked themselves which might be the canzoni that Dante intended to treat later, and whether we still possess them among those of his that have come down to us. As a matter of fact, two of the latter may be assigned their place in the unwritten part of the book with a considerable degree of certainty. The fourteenth treatise was (according to i. 12, line 87,[1] and iv. 27, line 101) to treat of *Giustizia*, and there the reason was to be given why the form of the allegory was invented by the wise (ii. 1, line 34); this evidently refers to the canzone "Tre Donne," in which Justice is personified by the three women, and which, with its mysterious images, afforded special opportunities for discoursing on the purpose of allegory. The last or fifteenth treatise was to show that generosity had no worth if unwillingly lavished (i. end of chap. 8), and that the virtues appear to us at times less admirable, owing to vanity and pride (iii. 15, line 142). This fits the canzone "Doglia mi reca," the sixth stanza of which, especially, corresponds exactly to the former of these specifications. The seventh treatise would

[1] The lines are quoted according to the Oxford Dante.

(according to iv. 26) have treated of *Temperanza*, and discussed Dido and Æneas; we do not, however, possess a poem corresponding to these particulars.

When Dante, at the beginning of his philosophical work, is expounding its purpose, he says that, in the canzoni which he had composed for the benefit of his fellow-men, many had, owing to their obscurity, admired their beauty rather than their goodness, that is to say, their importance from the philosophical and ethical point of view. This point of view he now wished to make clear to all: for the man who possesses knowledge is in duty bound to communicate it to others. It is true, he modestly adds, that he is not one of the "privileged few who sit at that table, where the bread of the angels is eaten, . . . but, having fled from the pasture-ground of the great mass, I cull, at the feet of those who sit there, of that which falls from them." And, continuing the same image, he calls his work the Banquet, at which the canzoni are dished up as food, and the commentary as the bread which makes the rest palatable and digestible. The object was the same, then, as we find with Brunetto Latini and others, namely, a popular one—the diffusion of knowledge, save that in Dante's case the subject treated was a far loftier one.[1] He writes, so he says, not for the so-called men of letters: for they profane literature, and change her from a noble lady into a common harlot, by making profit out of her. He writes for those that possess "goodness of mind," namely, princes, barons, knights, and many other nobles of the kind, not alone men, but also women (i. 9). This explanation is of importance, and he himself is fully aware of its significance, when he exclaims at the end of the first treatise: "This will be the barley-bread, with which thousands will satiate themselves, and yet my baskets will continue to overflow with it. This will be a new light, a new sun, that will rise where the old one sets, and will give light to those who are in shadow and in darkness, because of the old sun that gives them no light."

And this popular intention was the main reason for a further innovation. He wrote his scientific treatises in the

[1] Popular, as opposed to the schools, but nevertheless aristocratic; for Dante always maintained an unfriendly demeanour towards the great mass of the people.

Italian, and not in the Latin tongue, because those noble knights and ladies for whom they were destined would not have understood the Latin. It is true that before Dante's time, in the thirteenth century, learned works had been composed in Italian, as, for instance, Ristoro's "Composizione del Mondo"; above all, many of these writings had been translated from the Latin. However, for so important a work as the "Convivio," which treated of metaphysics, practical philosophy, and natural science, according to the regular scholastic method of the great schoolmen, no one had ventured to employ the vulgar tongue. To what extent this appeared to Dante as an innovation he shows most clearly by feeling himself called upon, in nine chapters, that is, almost the entire first treatise, to justify himself for offering so noble a dish with barley-bread (that is, with an Italian commentary), and not with bread made of wheat (Latin). And this is the beginning of an enthusiastic and, after his manner, passionate defence of the Italian language. He owes it the duties of love and gratitude, as being his friend and benefactor, as being his natural tongue, that of his parents, the one in which he has composed his poetry, the one that opened to him the road to knowledge. Hence he will make manifest its excellence, concealed hitherto; for now that it goes its way without borrowed ornaments of rhyme and rhythm, and expresses lofty and new ideas almost as well as the Latin, it will display in its entirety the strength and beauty it possesses. And those that despise the mother tongue, who prefer to it foreign idioms, and especially the Provençal, he calls "the abominable wretches of Italy, who regard this precious *volgare* as vile, whereas, if it is vile at all, it is vile only in so far as it sounds in the prostituted mouth of these adulterers."

What Dante did in order to acquire for the Italian tongue a position superior to the Latin, with which it was struggling for literary priority, is one of his finest and most brilliant achievements. How true his instinct was in this may be seen from the example of Petrarca, who, coming later, gave the preference again to the Latin, and of whom nothing has survived save what was written in Italian. For the matter of that, Dante himself only gradually shook off the prejudice of his age in favour of Latin, nor did he ever free himself from

it entirely. The "Vita Nuova" was apparently, according to the statement in cap. 31, written in Italian at the instigation of Guido Cavalcanti, to whom the book is dedicated; but in cap. 25 we still find the opinion expressed, that only love-matters should be treated in the *volgare*, that being done solely in order that women might understand them. In the "Convivio" more nobility is granted to the Latin, because it is "permanent and incorruptible" (while the *volgare* is "not stable and corruptible"), because it is more beautiful, because it follows art (and the *volgare* only custom), and because it is always able to express things for which the *volgare* does not suffice. One of the reasons given for the employment of allegory in the first canzone is that no poem in the *volgare* appeared worthy to extol philosophy, unless some veil were used. Nevertheless, Dante already at that time composed his canzoni on virtue in Italian; he writes on the highest questions of philosophy in the *volgare*, which he defends and extols in words that come from the heart. The development of his ideas was, therefore, notable. The little book "De Eloquentia Vulgari" adopts practically the same standpoint; in addition to love, arms and virtue are designated as proper subjects for treatment in the Italian language. The *volgare* is here called more noble even than Latin, in direct contradiction to the "Convivio." At the same time, as D'Ovidio rightly remarked, so vague an expression as *nobile* must not be interpreted in too pedantic a spirit: according to the author's particular object or point of view, his opinion might lean one way or the other. The Latin poets, called *magni et regulares*, are, in this treatise, still invariably distinguished from those that write in the *volgare*, because the former proceed according to art, the latter according to chance. That Dante composed this very book on the Italian language in Latin may be due to the fact that in it he addressed those that despised the *volgare*, who only read Latin works, and to whom he had, therefore, to speak in this language, so as to be able to refute their opinions. This book, too, belongs to the period of exile, to which it contains an allusion (i. 6). The "Convivio" mentions it only as a projected work (i. 5): "This will be treated more fully in another place, in a book which, with God's help, I mean to write concerning the vulgar speech."

The treatise, however, contains an historical allusion (i. 12) which assigns it a date prior to the year 1305, namely, the mention of John of Montferrat (who died in January, 1305) as a living man. And so the words in the "Convivio" probably mean that the book, as such, did not exist, that is to say, it was not yet completed and published, which does not exclude the possibility of its having being partially finished. That is the explanation of D'Ovidio and Fraticelli.

But this work of Dante's also remained unfinished, the reason being unknown. It was intended to comprise at least four books, as the fourth is several times referred to in advance (ii. 4, 8), but it breaks off in the middle of the fourteenth chapter of the second book. The original title is "De Eloquentia Vulgari," this being Dante's own designation in the text of the treatise itself (at the beginning and end of i. 1) and in the "Convivio." Later it was called "De Vulgari Eloquio," by Giovanni Villani, for example. But this did not show any misunderstanding of the author's plan; for Dante really intended to treat of the vulgar tongue, and not merely of the poetic style, as has often been assumed. Only the fact of the non-completion of the work might produce the impression that it was meant to be nothing more than a *Poetica;* but the author says expressly at the beginning that the *eloquentia vulgaris* was necessary for all, and that not only men, but women and children also strove to attain it, and at the end of the first book he says that he proposes treating the other *vulgaria* after the *vulgare illustre*, descending down to the speech that is proper to one family only. Accordingly, the precepts concerning poetic style and form constituted only a subdivision of the entire work, and Dante's *eloquentia* stands for language, or at the outside for eloquence in general.[1]

Following the custom of his time, Dante begins with the origin of language itself, and answers the questions why it was given to man and to man alone, and not to the angels and animals; he also discusses which was the language of Adam, and decides in favour of Hebrew. Then he comes to speak

[1] In the same way Pietro Allighieri, in the "Commentarium," edited by Nannucci, p. 84, employs *eloquentia* in the sense of "speech": "Rhadamanthus vero iudicat de *eloquentia*, utrum sit vera, ficta vel otiosa; unde 'Rhadamanthus,' id est 'iudicans verba.'"

of the confusion of Babel and of the origin of the various languages and families of languages, of which he distinguishes three in Europe. One of them is that of the Romance idioms, the common basis and original unity of which he therefore recognises, though he does not explain it correctly. According to Dante there are three Romance languages, too, which he distinguishes in the manner that has become so usual, according to their affirmative particle, into the languages of *oc*, *oïl*, and *sì*. Are we to assume that Spanish and Portuguese were really unknown to him, or was it again his predilection for the symbolical number three asserting itself? He puts the *Hispani* down as representatives of the *lingua d'oc*, whereas, of course, only their two north-eastern provinces belong to this domain. The separate languages are again subdivided; people speak differently in the various districts, in the various towns, at times even in the various quarters of the same town. The cause of this is, as Dante thought, the change to which all human things are subjected, and which is, in the case of language, effected variously in the various localities. And so men no longer understand one another, and no longer understand what their ancestors spoke, and the need arises for a universal language, uninfluenced by remoteness of time or place. As such a language the *Grammatica*, that is, Latin, was invented, which is unchangeable because it "was regulated by the agreement of many nations" (i. 9). And so, according to Dante's opinion, the Romance languages do not derive from the Latin; on the contrary, the Latin is a later invention, an artificial product, as opposed to those products of nature. The vulgar tongue is very old; it is the natural speech of man, which he learns without rules from those around him, when he first begins to form words; grammar, the Latin language, is acquired by dint of study, and only by a few.

Further on, Dante asks himself which of the three Romance languages should be awarded the precedence. He does not come to a decision, as each of them can boast of its special literary productions; two points, however, appear to decide him in favour of the Italian, namely, its closer resemblance to the language of grammar (Latin) common to them all, and its employment as the organ of the most perfect lyrical poetry, that of the *dolce stil nuovo*. But Italy

possesses several different *vulgaria*, many dialects, of which the author distinguishes fourteen principal ones, divided into two great classes, east and west of the chain of the Apennines. Now, which of these is the noble Italian *vulgare*, which he compared with the other Romance languages, to which he even awarded a certain precedence? Dante goes through the dialects one by one, quotes from each some words by way of specimen, and comparing them with the literary type that he has in mind, he rejects them all, with his impatient and passionate temperament, and inveighs against nearly all of them with bitter words, even against the Tuscan; the Tuscans, indeed, come in for special abuse, since they maintain that they possess the noble language, whereas they write and speak more faultily than the rest. But, nevertheless, in the course of his researches, he found traces of that higher *vulgare* in the most various districts, in Sicily, Apulia, Tuscany, Bologna, in isolated instances also in Romagna, Lombardy, and Venetia, namely, in the court poets who rejected the particular idiom of their province, and everywhere employed the same expressions. This is Dante's famous doctrine of a national language, that was to be common to every district of the country, not identical with any one of the dialects, and superior to them all. Nowadays we also say that no dialects correspond exactly to the literary language; but, at the same time, we recognise that the relation in which the latter stands to the single dialects is very various, that this literary language is based on one of these dialects, from which it arose by merely eliminating certain elements, whereas it is distinguished from the others by its phonetics and forms. As D'Ovidio noted, Dante was not yet able to draw this distinction, the distinction between language and style; he denominated both of them as *lingua*, and did not recognise that the literary language he employed was derived from the Tuscan, in spite of the divergencies detected by him. Nor could he realise this fact, seeing that, according to his convictions, the literary language, as the higher and the more excellent, must also be the earliest in point of time, and the dialects a corruption of this pure type, whose existence he demonstrates *à priori* by means of a scholastic deduction. In all classes of things, he says, there is a simple fundamental standard by which they are measured,

as, for numbers—one, for colours—white, for human actions —virtue, and so on. In the same way, the fundamental standard for the *vulgaria* is this language common to all of them. Just as there is a *vulgare* of Cremona, so there is one of the whole of Lombardy, further, one of the entire left portion of Italy, and, finally, one of the whole of Italy; and, just as the first is the Cremonese, the second the Lombard, and the third a *Semilatium* (l. *Semilatinum*?), so we call the fourth the *Latinum vulgare*, the Italian. For us this universal fundamental type is merely an abstraction, which has no existence save in the particular case. But for Dante the universals possess reality, and accordingly there is no need for him to ask how this type is obtained, and whence the universal language derives, in which the best poets of every province wrote.

After obtaining his universal language in this manner, Dante extols it with enthusiastic epithets. It is the *vulgare illustre*, *cardinale*, *aulicum*, *curiale*, that is to say, the noble and perfect language of poetry, the source of fame and honour, and the court language, that of cultured society. It is true that there is no court in Italy at which it is employed, but there are the members of an ideal court, that is to say, the most distinguished men of the nation, and especially the leading poets, who thus feel themselves united by the bond of an intellectual companionship in the same way as elsewhere courts are bound together through the efforts of the prince. But this *vulgare illustre* must not be employed indiscriminately for every kind of literary production. Dante distinguishes three species of style—the tragic, comic, and elegiac—which terms must be taken not in the classical, but in the widely different medieval sense, as a distinction based on the greater or lesser degree of sublimity and solemnity contained in the poem. The *vulgare illustre* is adapted only to tragic subjects and to the highest styles, to which belongs the canzone, that loftiest and most solemn form of poetry, while the ballad and sonnet stand lower and adopt the *vulgare mediocre*. And so Dante's *vulgare illustre*, from a literary point of view, consists of nothing but the canzone, and we can understand how it is that, in certain sonnets of the correspondence type, and especially in the "Commedia," he could be more free in the use of idiomatic forms, nay,

even employ words which he had specially blamed in the treatise, but only with reference to the noblest type of the *vulgare illustre.*

In the remaining chapters of the second book (ii. 5, *sqq.*), the author deals with the stylistic and metrical peculiarities of the canzone. The severe and, in reality, somewhat exclusive nature of his selection, in the matter of word construction, reveals to us the inflexible taste of an aristocratic form of art. But the instructions are here inadequate, and those who had not mastered the subject before, could have learnt but little from them. More interesting, and very important for our knowledge of the old metrical laws, are the data concerning the structure of the poem, the verse, the stanza and its divisions, and the terminology of the time. The unwritten portion of the book was to treat the sonnet and the ballad.

Dante's work contains a number of errors. Although his fundamental idea rises above the general prejudice, yet he cannot free himself from it in all its details, and although he sets himself the solution of an important problem, yet he does not really succeed in solving it; for his method could not fail to be shackled by the errors that belonged to the teaching of his time. But it is just this fundamental idea that reveals to us the boldness of his mind. He was the first among his countrymen to put a conscious theory in the place of the irregular use of the *volgare;* his little book contains the first scientific treatment of the Italian language, and it is at the same time the first example of a regular *Ars poëtica* for any vulgar tongue, after the manner of those that had previously been compiled for Latin only. And thus, owing to Dante's original intellect, Italian poetry, that began latest among the Romance languages, first and almost at its commencement came to be combined with reflection and with the theory of art.

For some time after Beatrice's death the restless zeal for learning and research obscured in Dante's mind that which had hitherto been his only ideal, the dominating thought of his soul. And there were other influences that helped to deaden the memory of his departed mistress. Towards the end of the "Vita Nuova," Dante narrates how once, when deeply immersed in mournful thoughts, he

noticed a beautiful lady at a window, who regarded him with looks full of compassion, and how, seeing her again and again, he gradually took such pleasure in the sight of her, that he was in danger of forgetting his pain at the loss of his loved one, and how this brought about a violent struggle in his soul, which, however, after a vision, ended with the victory of Beatrice. Dante himself subsequently identified this consoling lady, this *donna pietosa*, or *donna gentile*, as he usually calls her, with *Madonna la Filosofia*, the mistress of the allegorical canzoni and of the "Convivio." There can be no doubt as to her having originally existed in the flesh. But we must not blame the poet for this little deception he permitted himself; seeing that his feelings for the *donna gentile*, which, in his exalted mood, appeared to him at first so culpable, were in reality very innocent and transitory, and that he could not fail to recognise them as such later on.

Essentially different is another love of Dante's, which has found expression in several of his poems. These are four canzoni, the connection between which has been recognised from the fact that they all play with the word *Pietra*, or at any rate allude to it in a significant manner. The character the four poems have in common, and which distinguishes them from the allegorical pieces and those on the death of Beatrice, is their rough and realistic tone. The canzone, "Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro," is full of glowing sensuality, while the language is rough, unconventional, and energetic, and therefore imbued with original strength and poetry. Rejected by the woman he loves, the poet feigns the possibility of her being, at some future time, filled with the same anguish as himself, and he revels in this thought, imagining how he would then seize her fair tresses, that are now his scourge, and look straight into her eyes, and take revenge, slaking his amorous thirst. The description of his agony, the image of the terrible Amore, who has thrown him to the ground and lets his blows rain on him, are moving in their passionate strength. One of the most beautiful productions of Dante's entire muse is the canzone, "Io son venuto al punto della rota." In powerful, plastic images and expressions is depicted winter-time, its numbing and destructive influence on the outer world, and then, by way of contrast, the poet's soul all aflame with love. The theme

was a favourite one with the troubadours, but never had this contrast between nature and inner feeling been developed with such consummate art. Each stanza opens with a description of the landscape, and closes with the melancholy thoughts of the poet's unhappy passion. Specially effective is the fifth stanza:

Versan le vene le fumifere aque
Per li vapor, che la terra ha nel ventre,
Che d' abisso gli tira suso in alto;
Onde l' cammino al bel giorno mi piacque,
Che ora è fatto rivo, e sarà, mentre
Che durerà del verno il grande assalto.
La terra fa un suol che par di smalto,
E l'acqua morta si converte in vetro
Per la freddura, che di fuor la serra.
Ed io della mia guerra
Non son però tornato un passo arretro,
Nè vo' tornar; chè se 'l martiro è dolce,
La morte de' passare ogni altro dolce.[1]

The poem, "Al poco giorno ed al gran cerchio d'ombra," is closely connected with the preceding one, the thoughts of which it recapitulates in the first stanza. Towards the close the poet expresses the wish, that has been so often misunderstood by the commentators, to meet his beloved in a solitary place, on a meadow clad with verdure, surrounded by high hills, and she herself as full of love as ever a woman was; but before that takes place, the rivers will rise to the top of the hills. This poem is a *sestina*, that is to say, it is written in the artificial form invented by Arnaut Daniel, which was rarely imitated in Provençal, and first introduced into Italian poetry by Dante. It was not a fortunate acquisition, as was proved more fully still by subsequent efforts. The return of the six identical closing words throughout six stanzas and a refrain of three verses, and each time in a

[1] The veins pour forth smoky waters, by reason of the vapours that the earth has in its belly, that draws them forth from the depth of the abyss; there where the way pleased me, in the lovely daylight, that has now become a river, and will be one as long as the violent assault of winter shall last. The ground forms a soil that appears to be of stone, and the dead water turns to glass, through the cold that locks it in from without. And I from my war have not turned one step backwards, and do not wish to turn; for if the torture is sweet, death must surpass all other sweetness.

different order which was strictly prescribed (changing in pairs, from verse 6 to 1, 5 to 2, 4 to 3:

I. *a b c d e f.* II. *f a e b d c.* III. *c f d a b e*, etc.)

hampers the train of thought in an unendurable fashion, without supplying the ear with an adequate recompense. And it is strange to remark how Dante assigns a more prominent part to artificiality of form and to playing with words just in the cases where his poetry is realistic in character. In the canzone "Io son venuto," we find this only in a small degree, nor does it produce an unpleasant effect in this poem; the repetition of the rhyme-word in the two final verses of each stanza (*rima equivoca*) makes us feel as it were the repeated pulsation of the same thought that torments the poet. However, in the canzone, "Amor tu vedi che questa donna," the subject-matter is entirely lost in the artificiality of the form. What Dante invented here was something entirely new, as he himself proudly points out in the refrain, and the allusion to this discovery in the "De Vulg. El.," ii. 13, where he calls it *novum aliquod atque intentatum artis*, shows how highly he valued it. Here the same final words are not merely repeated in the body of the stanza (the usual *rime equivoche*), but they return in each stanza in such a way that the last final word of the one stanza occupies in the following stanza the position of the first, and each of the others the position of that word which followed it in the first stanza:

I. *a b a a c a a d d a e e.*
II. *e a e e b e e c c e d d.*
III. *d e d d a d d b b d c c.*

And so on for five stanzas, so that finally *b* stands at the beginning and *a* at the end, followed by a refrain: *a e d d c b.* This is called a double *sestina*, though not quite correctly, if only for the reason that there are no more than five closing words, and that the order observed is quite different to that of the *sestina*; however, this complicated arrangement is probably a development of the latter form. We may condemn this trifling in itself, but cannot but admire Dante's consummate mastery of expression, which enables him to overcome these difficulties, and to express his thoughts with

sufficient clearness, whereas the far simpler *rime equivoche* of his predecessors were for the most part quite unintelligible.

Who was this *Pietra*, whose real or imaginary name is juggled with in these four poems? An assertion made in the sixteenth century by Anton Maria Amadi to the effect that she was identical with one Pietra degli Scrovegni of Padua, has been rejected by Carducci and proved by Vitt. Imbriani to be a frivolous invention. The more modern theories concerning this personality are no more convincing, and we must make up our minds to say of this, as of so many other incidents in Dante's life, that we know nothing about it. Carducci and Imbriani are undoubtedly correct in placing the poems before the period of exile, that is to say, in the nineties; such passionate words can come only from a young man. Equally certain is it that this was a sensual love: if we read the canzone, "Così nel mio parlar," especially, it is impossible to think of philosophy, still less of Beatrice or of some other spiritual passion.

Sensuality asserted itself against the mystic exaltation and the religious cult of the feminine ideal. Just in the poet, with the warmth of his imagination and temperament, the earthly qualities, too, are wont to play an important part. And this is a general trait with the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*. They had spiritualised their feelings, and connected them with all that is highest; but this pure worship of woman could not fail to be accompanied by grosser passions. Guido Guinicelli, the originator of this love cult, is met by Dante in the seventh circle of Purgatory, where atonement is made for the lust of the flesh (*luxuria*). Dante himself participates in the penitential torments of the souls in this circle alone, among all those of the mountain; before he can attain to the Earthly Paradise, he must pass through the purifying fire, and feels its heat so keenly, that he had fain thrown himself into molten glass, in order to cool himself. In the "Inferno," he feels, as has been noted, the deepest compassion for those who have been condemned owing to sins of love, such as Francesca and Paolo. That Guido Cavalcanti was not free from earthly passions is proved by several of his songs. This was the *folle amore*, which was set against virtuous love already by the Provençal and Old French poets. It might temporarily disturb the pure, spiritual

feeling, but could not destroy it. This was a religion. Man could not cease to be man; he sinned and then returned, full of penance, to the worship of his ideal. Such a period of transgression occurred also in Dante's life. It was the time, at which Guido Cavalcanti addressed to him the sonnet:

> Io vengo il giorno a te infinite volte
> E trovoti pensar troppo vilmente.

Guido complains that he can no longer visit him and praise his poems as he used to do, without fearing for his own reputation, on account of the low mode of life in which he was degrading his noble mind, and of his intercourse with low people (*gente noiosa*), whom he had formerly avoided.

This intercourse, considered unworthy by Guido, is alluded to also in a passage of the "Commedia" and in some correspondence of Dante's in the form of sonnets, which, at the same time, serve to fix more closely the date of these youthful acts of wantonness. When Dante, in the sixth circle of Purgatory, meets the soul of his friend, Forese Donati, who is doing penance for the sin of gluttony, he reminds him of their former intercourse with the words ("Purg.," xxiii. 115):

> If thou bring back to mind
> What thou with me hast been and I with thee,
> The present memory will be grievous still.
> Out of that life he turned me back who goes
> In front of me (*i.e.* Virgil) . . .

Forese was the brother of the Corso Donati, who subsequently became the fiercest enemy of Dante and of his party; he died July 28th, 1296. The words of Dante have always been regarded as a reminder of trangressions committed together, of a profligate life, and this is undoubtedly the correct interpretation. However, we must not be led astray by the context of the passage, and accuse Dante of having shared Forese's propensity towards the pleasures of the table, as was done, among others, by Witte. Surely we cannot know whether the words refer directly to the crime punished in the circle in which the speaker happens to be at the time; the seventh circle, that of *luxuria*, is higher than

Forese, and he may still have had to do long penance there, too, and this may have been the crime that he had committed in common with his friend. Besides, the second piece of evidence we possess of the relations between Dante and Forese is diametrically opposed to Witte's theory.

This is a collection of correspondence in the form of five sonnets, two from Forese to Dante, and three from Dante to him. Four of these have been known for a long time, but they were not considered genuine because they differ in character from Dante's other poems. Now their genuineness has been proved, partly because they are mentioned in the Dante commentary of the so-called "Anonimo Fiorentino," partly because their subject-matter fits in with authenticated facts. If their tone does differ so completely from that to which we are accustomed in Dante's other lyrical pieces, we need not be surprised With other poets of the elevated style, we also found such isolated efforts in the rough and realistic manner, which was, at that time, represented chiefly by Rusticco di Filippo and Cecco Angiolieri, and which dealt in a jocose and scoffing spirit with the affairs of everyday life. Guido Guinicelli wrote the sonnet on Lucia with the many-coloured cape and the one against a malicious old witch, and Guido Cavalcanti, that on the over-dressed hump-backed woman. In the same way Dante, after composing the poems on Beatrice, and perhaps also the first philosophical canzone, did not disdain, in the sonnets, "Chi udisse tossir la mal fatata," "Ben ti faranno il nodo Salamone," and "Bicci Novel, figliuol di non son cui," to reproach Forese Donati, who is here called by a nickname Bicci, with neglecting his wife, with squandering his money on dainty meals, and almost with thieving—all this in words taken from everyday life, in return for which he had to endure Forese's taunts at the patience with which he bore the insults heaped on his family. Dante and Forese were intimate friends, as the passage in the "Purgatorio" shows, and we must, therefore, not take these reproaches too literally; they are, as was also held by Del Lungo, nothing but railing jests, jokes of a somewhat coarse kind, such as were usual in those days, and interesting chiefly from the fact that they reveal the great man for once without his halo, in his purely human aspect and in the intercourse of

the ordinary life of his town. This also accounts for the fact that these verses are often very obscure through proverbial phrases, and allusions to customs and events that are unknown to us; no one has as yet succeeded in deciphering all the difficulties.

Dante reproaches his friend with gluttony. He could not do that, even in jest, if he had not been superior to him in this respect, for Forese would have accused him in his turn. Dante was, therefore, Forese's companion, not in this, but in some other aspect of riotous living. Now, Dante accuses him also of neglecting his wife, and riotous living always keeps a man away from home; as Forese did not retaliate with a similar accusation, we must conclude that Dante was not married at the time.

Dante's wife was Gemma di Manetto Donati, of another branch of the same family to which Forese and Corso belonged. It is not certain when the marriage with her took place, but, in view of the observations we have just made, we cannot assign it an earlier date than the middle of the nineties; for the period of the sonnets to Forese cannot have been immediately subsequent to the death of Beatrice. It is true that this was scarcely reconcilable with the numerous progeny that used to be attributed to Dante; according to the early biographers he is supposed to have had seven children. But Todeschini and Passerini found that some of these were merely invented, and, after striking these off the list, none remain but the two sons, Pietro and Jacopo, and one daughter, Antonia; Imbriani brought forward a number of good reasons disproving the existence of a second daughter, Beatrice. Concerning Gemma Donati we have very little information. She survived Dante, appearing in a document as late as the year 1333; and yet Dante, according to Boccaccio's statement, is said not to have seen her again after his exile. It is true that she could never have left Florence for long, seeing that after her husband's departure, as we learn from the same Boccaccio, she lived penuriously with her children, and, however fond the impecunious father may have been of them, he could not dream of taking them with him on his wanderings far and wide. Dante never alluded to Gemma in his works, but that is easily conceivable: for the subjects he treated did not give him the

opportunity. The love he celebrated was a very different thing from the love that his wife could offer him. Love, as it appears with Dante and his contemporaries, really excludes marriage; all these poets maintain an absolute silence on the subject of their family affairs. The wife plays a prosaic part: she stands entirely beyond the literary horizon, and, by the side of the sentiments inspired by her, it was quite possible for another emotional life to exist, which was regarded as the higher of the two. This, too, excludes the possibility of recognising in Gemma Donati the *Donna consolatrice* of the "Vita Nuova," a theory which is always being advanced: for, in addition to the fact that the circumstances do not tally, marriage could not, in any case, have appeared to Dante as a contrast to his love, as an act of infidelity towards Beatrice. In spite of all this, attempts have been made to find in the "Commedia" hidden and indirect allusions, which were supposed to demonstrate the discord between husband and wife and Gemma's bad character; there have been interminable disputes on this subject, but without any definite result. In any case, we should guard against making absolute deductions from Dante's moral invectives. Moralisation and satire easily exaggerate, and easily make the author say more, on the spur of the moment, than he would do if he had first calmly considered all the points; and this applies with special force to a man of Dante's passionate temperament. When, for example, we read at the end of the canzone, "Poscia ch' Amor," that all living people act contrarily to the rules of *Leggiadria*, are we to assume that the poet really thought that no man existed in the world possessing courteous manners? That would not be in accordance with what he himself says in other places. From all the laborious researches of which poor Gemma Donati has been the object, we can deduce nothing beyond what we might have guessed all along, namely, that Dante's marriage was a prosaic affair, concluded like any other business matter, in order to fulfil the duties of social position, and devoid of all romance—in other words, it was a marriage after the manner of all marriages, probably, in those times, and of so many in our own day.

The old communes of the thirteenth century did not allow their citizens a calm existence of contemplation, nor was

Dante's nature made for such a life. In his younger days he had borne arms for his native city, and now he fulfilled his duties towards it by personally participating in its public affairs. This political activity was the cause of his sorrowful fate. But his poetry was the gainer by this hard schooling of experience and suffering; it was touched by the breath of his stormy life, and became the expression of the powerful forces by which that age and that society were moved. To-day, when we regard matters from a distance, it is easily conceivable that Dante must necessarily have played an important political part; but such a circumstance was almost an impossibility in the Florence of that time, even for a man of genius. The constitution was essentially democratic; the *signoria* of the priors changed every two months, and each decree had to pass a number of councils, consisting of many members, before it could be executed. The individual scarcely counted, and neither talent nor skill could achieve for a statesman a position of lasting precedence. And so we may now take a keen interest in Dante's public actions, but they were of no particular importance in themselves, and no one at the time thought of attributing any such importance to them. Through the victory of the Guelphs over the Ghibellines in 1267, and through the constitutional reform of 1282, the government had, more and more, passed over into the hands of the people, and the famous *Ordinamenti della giustizia* of the year 1293 excluded the nobles altogether from offices of state. It is true that subsequently, in 1295, a concession was made to them. Just as, in the Roman Republic, the patricians could attain to the office of a tribune by letting themselves, *pro forma*, be adopted by a plebeian, so, too, in Florence, the members of the aristocracy again acquired the right of taking part in the government, by inscribing themselves in one of the guilds, frequently, of course, without actually following the handiwork or trade. It is disputed whether Dante was in this position. Formerly it was held to be an undoubted fact that his family belonged to the nobility. But Todeschini raised a number of doubts as to the correctness of this very old view; and although Fenaroli dissipated a number of these, yet there are still some unclear points which are open to doubt. According to an old register, Dante was admitted to the guild of phy-

sicians and apothecaries, which approached most closely to his own scientific pursuits; however, this is no proof of his nobility, since he would have had to enter a guild also as *popolano*. On June 5th, 1296, he was a member of the council of the hundred, and addressed the assembly. On May 5th, 1299, he was in the commune of S. Gemignano, as the ambassador of Florence in matters pertaining to the Tuscan Guelph league. In the year 1300, from June 15th to August 15th, he was one of the college of the six priors. The Guelph party in Florence had for some time been divided. At the beginning it was a question of discord between two great families, the Cerchi and Donati, in the same way as the Guelph and the Ghibelline parties had arisen; and, as in this case, this struggle went on assuming wider dimensions, other families taking part in it. Dante's very election appears to have been a stormy one, and to have been opposed by his enemies; this may be inferred from the subsequent words of the poet in a letter quoted by Leonardo Aretino, to the effect that all his troubles were begun and caused in the assembly that elected him prior. When the attitude of the two hostile parties became more threatening, the *signoria* determined, in order to secure peace, to remove the most important adherents of each from Florence (June 24th, 1300). The Donateschi were sent to Castel della Pieve; the Cercheschi, and among them Guido Cavalcanti, to Sarzana. The latter were soon permitted to return, owing to the unhealthiness of the air in their place of exile, where Guido had been taken ill; but when this took place Dante was no longer in office. Then the Donateschi returned home; only Corso Donati remained in Rome, and tried to win over the Pope to his party, which pretended to be the only true Guelph party, and endeavoured to denounce its more moderate opponents as Ghibellines. Upon the discovery of a conspiracy, the heads of the Donateschi were again banished (June, 1301), and the Cerchi obtained the supremacy in Florence. After they had, at Pistoja, decided the struggle between the two branches of the Cancellieri family, called Bianchi and Neri, in favour of the Bianchi, to whom they were related, and driven out the Neri (towards the end of May, 1301), they and their party assumed the name of Bianchi, while the Donateschi

called themselves Neri. During these troublous times, in which a heavy disaster was preparing for the city and for Dante, the latter appears several times in his public capacity. On April 13th and 14th, 1301, he voted in the council of the *Capitudini* (that is, the heads of guilds) and other *Sapientes*, on the manner of electing the *signoria*. On April 28th, 1301, he was commissioned by a decree of the six officials of the Florentine roads and ways, together with a notary, Ser Guglielmo della Piagentina, to see to the widening and repair of the street of S. Procolo, from the Borgo della Piagentina to the little river Affrico. On June 19th, 1301, he voted, in two meetings of the council of the hundred, to the effect that the commune should not grant to the Pope the auxiliary force of a hundred troops demanded by him (*quod de servitio faciendo domino Papæ nihil fiat*), a vote which was in the minority, and which served later as one of the charges levied against Dante. Once again he voted, on September 13th, 1301 (the nature of the vote being unknown to us), in an assembly of all the councils, on the measures for the preservation of the *ordinamenti* and statutes of the people.

Pope Boniface VIII., being pressed by the Neri, and himself fully disposed to make use of the opportunity for increasing his power in Florence, determined to send into the city a so-called pacificator, in the person of Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair of France. For while the imperial throne was vacant, the Pope claimed the imperial sovereign rights, including the authority to appoint a vicar for the province of Tuscany, which was under the sway of the Empire. Charles of Valois came to Florence on November 1st. Before entering the city, he had sworn to respect its laws; however, he did not keep his word, soon openly favoured the Neri, and utilised his stay mainly for the purpose of extorting enormous sums of money. Corso Donati broke into the town, and for several days the Neri went on ruthlessly pillaging and burning the houses, there being also a sacrifice of human life. The last *signoria* of the Bianchi was forced to resign before its time; one composed of the Neri was set up instead, and the power thus acquired was, as was usual in these struggles of the Italian communes, utilised by the victorious party in order to suppress their opponents in cruel fashion. In the course of the year 1302

more than six hundred of these were condemned, some to death and others to banishment. The crimes with which they were charged were fraud or offences against the authorities, these being, of course, in nearly every case, nothing but pretexts for the purpose of getting rid of opponents, and consequently the accusation was frequently based entirely on public rumour. Dante shared the fate of so many others; against him, among the first, was directed a decree of the *Podestà* Cante de' Gabrielli of Gubbio, dated January 27th, which accuses him, "super eo et ex eo quod ad aures nostras et curie nostre notitiam, fama publica referente, pervenit," of embezzlement, extortion, corruption, and of agitation against the Pope, Charles of Valois and the peaceful condition of the city and of the Guelph party, and which condemns him *in contumaciam* to the payment of a very considerable sum of money (5,000 *fiorini piccioli*), or, in default of payment within three days, to the confiscation of all his belongings, and, in any case, to banishment from Tuscany for two years and to exclusion from all offices and dignities. Another decree, dated March 10th, determines that, as he had not paid the money, or appeared in answer to the summons, thus tacitly admitting his guilt, he was to be burnt alive, if he ever fell into the power of the commune.

Thus the party strife, that was unceasingly convulsing the Italian republics, cast the greatest poet of Italy, together with many other good citizens, from his native city. At a time when men were so much more closely attached to the soil and circumstances of their birth, banishment meant something far deeper than it does to-day, and the separation from all that a man most cherished was a catastrophe decisive for his whole future. The exiled Florentine Guelphs joined the Ghibellines who had long been banished, and with whom they had always been more friendly than with the Neri, and made several armed attempts against the town. On June 8th, 1302, the Cerchi, Uberti, Ubertini, Guidalotti, Pazzi, and Ricasoli came together in the choir of the church of S. Godenzo in the Mugello, in order to give the Ubaldini assurance of compensation for their possessions, especially for the strong castle of Montaccenico, during the forthcoming struggle; Dante was also present, his name figuring in the document, which is still extant, among those who went

security for the agreement that was come to. However, in this combined party of the Bianchi and Ghibellines, lowly passions, such as banishment is wont to foster among the conquered, discord, jealousy, and selfishness, soon began to make themselves felt, and so Dante's lofty mind did not long brook this companionship; the thought of being chained to vile and common men by the same destiny was more oppressive to him than even his misfortunes. This we learn from the famous verses, in which he makes his ancestor, Cacciaguida, prophecy his fate to him ("Par." xvii. 61, *sqq.*):

> And that which most shall weigh upon thy shoulders
> Will be the bad and foolish company
> With which into this valley thou shalt fall;
> For all ingrate, all mad and impious
> Will they become against thee; but soon after
> They, and not thou, shall have the forehead scarlet.
> Of their bestiality their own proceedings
> Shall furnish proof; so 'twill be well for thee
> A party to have made thee by thyself.

As he sees that he is no longer understood, either by the Guelphs or by the Ghibellines, he withdraws within himself, and forms, as he proudly says, a party for himself. This probably took place in 1303, after the army of the exiles had suffered defeat at the castle of Pulicciano, in the spring of that year. In the same year (1303), or at the beginning of the following, he went to Northern Italy, where he found his first refuge at the court of Bartolommeo della Scala in Verona. On the death of Pope Boniface, his gentle successor, Benedict XI., sent the Cardinal Niccolò of Prato, Bishop of Ostia, to Florence, at the beginning of March, 1304, in order to restore peace; however, his efforts proved unavailing. On July 20th the Bianchi, under the leadership of Baschiera della Tosa of La Lastra, made an attack on Florence and entered the city, but they lost their advantage owing to lack of caution, and were again repulsed. In the year 1306 (April 10th) Pistoja fell, which town Tolosano degli Uberti had bravely defended for almost a year, and shortly after Montaccenico fell into the hands of the Florentines, through treachery on the part of the Ubaldini. The fresh negotiations of the Papal peace-maker, Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, were again unsuccessful, and so the

banished party lost all hope in the year 1307. Dante led a wandering life, often suffering actual want, and forced to avail himself of the aid of strangers for his subsistence, seeing that his small possessions in Florence had been confiscated. In his letter of condolence, written on the death of Alessandro da Romena to his nephews Oberto and Guido (*circa* 1304), he says that poverty had prevented him from attending the funeral. So haughty a temperament must have found it specially hard to live on the charity which the princes and nobles of those days often doled out to the accompaniment of insults:

> Thou shalt have proof how savoureth of salt
> The bread of others, and how hard a road
> The going down and up another's stairs.

Such is the prophecy of Cacciaguida in the passage of the "Paradiso" already quoted, and touching is the poet's lament concerning his exile, at the beginning of the "Convivio" (i. 3): "Almost in every part over which this language extends have I been, a wanderer, almost a beggar, showing against my will the wound of my destiny. . . . Truly I have been a ship without sails and without rudder. . . ."[1] It is now altogether impossible to specify the various localities in which he stayed in turn, and only isolated incidents of this sorrowful pilgrimage are known to us from documents. On August 27th, 1306, he was in Padua, where he witnessed the settlement of a notary's deed. On October 6th of the same year he signed, at Sarzana, in the Lunigiana, as procurator of the Marchese Franceschino Malaspina, the treaty of peace between the latter's family and the Bishop Antonio of Luni. Accordingly, Dante's sojourn at the court of the Malaspina, to which he gratefully alluded in the eighth canto of the "Purgatorio," probably falls in the same period. Then Dante proceeded to the Casentino; it has been assumed that he lived with Guido Salvatico, of the line of the Counts Guidi of Dovadola, but this theory is not supported by any positive proof. From this place he addressed to Moroello Malaspina of Villafranca, with whom he had stayed last before his departure, a letter, in which he tells him how, on reaching the

[1] That he was really reduced to begging of the great, is shown by the letter to Can Grande, § 32.

sources of the Arno, he had suddenly fallen deeply in love, and how he had accordingly been forced to relinquish his intention, to extol women in song no longer, and to devote himself solely to earnest scientific research; and he sends him a canzone describing his new passion.

A passion thus overtaking a man who was more than forty years of age, and occupied with the loftiest thoughts, was manifestly a pure, Platonic love, of the kind that mostly inspired the poetry of those days. The style of the letter, with its violent images, does not speak against this theory. The loved one is an apparition, descending like a flash of lightning; the flame of her beauty has on him the effect of a thunder-clap. The canzone, which repeats some of the expressions of the letter, is entirely in the manner of the Florentine philosophical school. The soul paints for itself the image of Madonna, and contemplates it, whereupon it is enraged against itself for having kindled the flame by which it is consumed. Life flies, stricken by love, and then the soul returns into the heart, and the lover, regarding the wound that was destroying him, trembles with fear. Besides, if the poem had not been inspired by a spiritual passion of this kind, it would not have been deemed of sufficient importance to form the subject of a letter to a prince. A new love may appear to contradict Dante's position and train of thought at the time; but anyone who, on that account, rejects the whole affair, declaring the letter not to be genuine, and interpreting the canzone allegorically, does not know the contradictions of the human heart. A passage in the "Purgatorio" points to another transitory passion that falls within the period of exile. It is very obscure, and has therefore given rise to a number of conjectures. When Dante approaches the soul of the poet Buonagiunta of Lucca, he hears him murmur something, and catches the name of Gentucca. Farther on, the soul says to him ("Purg." xxiv. 43, *sqq.*):

> A maid is born, and wears not yet the veil (*i.e.* is not yet married),
> . . . . who to thee shall pleasant make
> My city, howsoever men may blame it.
> Thou shalt go on thy way with this prevision;
> If by my murmuring thou hast been deceived,
> True things hereafter will declare it to thee.

So Dante at one time loved in Lucca a woman named Gentucca, who was not married in the year 1300. That is all we learn, and every conjecture that has been made concerning the person of Gentucca is entirely devoid of foundation. The only thing that appears to me certain, is that this, too, was a pure and spiritual love; had it been otherwise, Dante would not have immortalised it at this stage of his mystic journey. The question is, when did this sojourn in Lucca take place? It is generally assumed that it was between the years 1314 and 1316, when Uguccione della Faggiuola had taken possession of the town; for prior to this he belonged to the Guelph party, and was in alliance with Florence. But Witte rightly considers this a doubtful date; after forming a party for himself, Dante had no reason to keep him from staying with Guelphs, and some of his most generous patrons were Guelphs, such as the Malaspina, and later, Guido da Polenta, at whose court he died. At a time, therefore, when the struggles had ceased, that is, between the years 1307 and 1310, he could very well pay a visit to Lucca. He himself was in a conciliatory mood at the time. That may be seen from the "Convivio," which contains no violent words against his native town, but in which, on the contrary, the wish is expressed that he might be allowed, with the consent of the citizens, to rest his weary mind there, and to pass there the remainder of his life (i. 3); and, according to Leonardo Aretino, he addressed an epistle to the people of Florence, which demonstrated his innocence, and began with the words of Micah (vi. 3): "Popule mee, quid feci tibi?"

The most interesting details concerning the poet's wanderings and frame of mind at this time are contained in the letter of Frate Ilario, the authenticity of which is, however, exceedingly doubtful. The author, a monk of the Convent of Santa Croce del Corvo, in the Lunigiana, is sending to Uguccione della Faggiuola the first part of the "Commedia," and writes to him that the man whose work he is receiving, had come to the convent, and, on being asked what he wanted, had remained silent and contemplated the building, and finally, on being asked again, had replied, with his eyes fixed on it: "Peace." Having become more closely acquainted with Ilario, he had drawn a little book from his

breast and handed it to the monk, and when the latter expressed surprised at its being written in Italian, he had said that he had first begun it in Latin, but then chosen the other language, as the knowledge of Latin was decreasing more and more. Ilario was to provide it with notes and to send it to Uguccione; the other two parts were to be dedicated to Moroello Malaspina and to Frederick of Sicily. According to the monk's statement, Dante, when he came to the monastery of Santa Croce del Corvo, was on the way *ad partes ultramontanas*, by which is undoubtedly meant—to France. This epistle contains extremely improbable statements. Above all, how are we to believe that Dante handed his work to an unknown monk, in order that he should transmit it and write a commentary on it, and that this monk, who had previously not even known of the existence of the book, should have been able to undertake such a task after a conversation of some hours with the poet? Accordingly, the letter has for a long time been regarded as apocryphal. Scheffer-Boichorst endeavoured to save it; but, at the outside, he proved that it is a very old forgery and that Boccaccio considered it genuine. Scheffer-Boichorst fixes its date as 1306, Dante having really been in the Lunigiana at that time, and presumably, therefore, on the road to Paris. But he forgets that, in 1306 or 1307, Dante proceeded from the Lunigiana to the sources of the Arno, which do not, by any means, lie on the road from Sarzana to France. Villani and Boccaccio, likewise, speak of a journey Dante made to Paris. But perhaps the two old biographers based this statement concerning a sojourn at the most celebrated theological university on some doubtful tradition, which may have been due to Dante's theological knowledge. An acquaintance with French matters such as the poet reveals in his works, may have been acquired by him without his ever having set eyes on France.

While Dante was still deceiving himself with the hope of returning peacefully to Florence, a new chance suddenly presented itself for the fulfilment of his wishes from an unexpected quarter, which tallied in every way with his political convictions. The new German Emperor, Henry VII., descended into Italy with an army, in order to enforce the rights of the Empire that had long been neglected, and to

restore order in the land. In the "Convivio," where he teaches philosophical truths, Dante had also made a political profession of faith (iv. 4, 5); for philosophy and politics, according to his view, were not separated, and the latter formed an integral part of ethics. If humanity would attain its object on earth, namely, happiness in the exercise of virtue, it has need of peace. Strife, however, continually reigns throughout the world, unless there be one ruler, who requires nothing for himself, because everything is subjected to him, and who accordingly governs justly, and maintains harmony among the princes and cities. This universal monarchy, the one source of all power on earth, which is indispensable for the happiness of mankind, was, according to Dante, the Roman Empire, and he shows how the Roman people, "the holy people, with whose blood the noble Trojan blood was mingled," did not attain to the supreme rule of the world by mere force, but were destined to exercise this sway by the Providence of God. And so the Roman Emperor was the legitimate authority, that had to step in, in all cases of confusion and injustice. This political theory of Dante's, which had been a mere ideal since the death of Frederick II., was realised when Henry VII. crossed the Alps in October of the year 1310. And, indeed, he came with the noblest and purest intentions, filled with the loftiest ideas concerning his duties as ruler, not as the protector of a party, but as a true peacemaker, not as an opponent of the Church, but in agreement with it, and in order to protect its authority. Dante saw in him the political saviour, sent as it were by God himself, who would heal all the wounds of his unhappy country and open the gates of his native city to himself, the just and innocent man who had been persecuted. He hastens to contemplate with his own eyes the Lord's chosen one, and doubts not of his success; for, in his first joy, he cannot believe that anyone could wish to oppose the Divine Providence, that was revealing itself so manifestly. And so, in order to serve the sacred cause as best he can, he writes a Latin epistle to the princes and people of Italy, with the inscription: "All the kings of Italy and the senators of the Eternal City, together and singly, as well as the dukes, margraves, counts, and people, the humble Italian (*humilis Italus*), Dante Allaghieri, of

Florence, who has been banished without any fault of his own, prays for peace." The sun of peace and justice, he says, is appearing. Italy, that is now arousing the pity even of the Saracens, may rejoice; for soon she will be the envied of the earth, seeing that her spouse is approaching, the solace of the world. All should humbly submit to the Emperor, to whom all belongs, who is descending in order to let right and, still more, gentleness, have their sway. But the oppressed may hope and have confidence. And he recalls the divine origin of the Roman Empire and of the imperial power, whereof he had treated in the "Convivio." The spiritual and secular powers were often represented, since the time of Innocent III., and perhaps still earlier, by the image of the greater and lesser light, of the sun and the moon, which God created at the beginning. Dante, too, employed the image in this passage. The Pope and the Emperor work together; Pope Clement illuminates the ruler with the light of the apostolic blessing, "in order that, when the spiritual ray does not suffice, the splendour of the lesser light may spread light." This letter, like Dante's other epistles on public affairs, is composed in a solemn style, full of Biblical words and with expressions and images that are far-fetched in their gravity and sublimity. It is the emphatic style that had been brought into vogue for political writings by Pier della Vigna and his friends, at the court of Frederick II.

But the Emperor's impartial justice and mildness did not suit the irreconcilable factions in the Italian towns; they continued their old struggles before his eyes. The Guelph communes showed themselves hostile, and thus forced him to be cruel and severe. Florence became the centre of the Italian opposition to the Emperor, agitating against him in the most violent manner, and everywhere creating enemies and obstacles to his cause. On seeing this, the poet, disappointed and embittered, hurls a fresh epistle against his native city: "Dante Allaghieri, Florentine and exile without any fault of his own, to the most wicked Florentines within (*sceleratissimis Florentinis intrinsecis*)," in which he prophesies to them a terrible punishment for their obstinacy; it is too late, he says, for repentance, and their walls and battlements will not protect them, when the Im-

perial eagle shall come down on them, bringing destruction. He calls them: "Oh vainest of Tuscans, senseless through nature and through vice!" "Oh most wretched descendants of the people of Fæsulæ!" he exclaims, "oh new Punic barbarism!" In his enthusiastic admiration of Imperial majesty, he ventures, as Frederick II. did, to compare it with Christ: Henry, in his divine triumph, voluntarily takes our sins on himself, so that Isaiah's prophecy applies also to him.[1] This letter is dated March 31st, 1311, from the source of the Arno. It has been assumed that he was staying with the Count Guidonovello of Battifolle at Poppi, because three letters addressed at that time by the wife of this count to the Empress Margaret, are supposed to have been written by Dante in her name; however, this is doubtful. When Dante saw that Henry was losing his time in the North by punishing the rebels, he wrote to him on April 18th, again from the source of the Arno, in the name of the well-intentioned Tuscans, exhorting him not to waste his time by undertaking expeditions against the Lombard cities. For that it was useless cutting off the hydra's heads; rather should the stubborn ones be attacked immediately in their actual centre. "Dost thou, perchance not know," he writes, "where the stinking vixen, secure from the hunters, has sought her lair? Assuredly, the wicked one drinks not from the rapid Po, nor from the Tiber, but her mouth fouls the waters of the river Arno, and Florence (dost thou not know it?) is the name of this horrible corruption. That is the viper, which turns against the bowels of its mother; that is the scurvy sheep, which contaminates with its infection the flock of the Lord; that is the abandoned Myrrha, burning for her father's embraces." Nay, more, he quotes for the Emperor's benefit the verses of Lucan, in which Curio urges Cæsar to cross the Rubicon, while the enemy are still badly armed—this being the same counsel for which he placed Curio in Hell, among the instigators of the civil war. At last Henry really came to Central Italy and received the Imperial crown at Rome from the hands of Papal legates. Then he besieged Florence, which he had put under the ban of the Empire, but had to leave the town without accomplish-

[1] In the letter to the emperor Dante applies to him the words: "Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi."

ing his object. He died suddenly on August 24th, 1313, at Buonconvento, south of Siena, when he was on the point of attacking King Robert of Naples. But the Florentines had in the meantime replied to the agitations of their exiles by issuing the *Riforma* of Baldo d'Aguglione, a decree of the *Signoria* dated September 2nd, 1311. This freed a number of people from the ban on the ground of their being good Guelphs; in the case of more than a thousand, however, the old verdict still held good, and among these was Dante.

The part taken by Dante in these political events reveals to us his impetuous nature. His ideas burst out into flame and dominate his whole soul. For him there is no wavering and no doubt; he adheres to his political theories with the same enthusiasm as to his philosophical and theological doctrines. He does not think of personal interests. He is firmly convinced that what he desires is really for the good of all, the only good, that it is truth and right, and that he is fighting for truth and right against those criminals who wish to obscure and to overthrow them, against the detestable enemies of God and His chosen one. Small wonder, therefore, that he desires their destruction, even though they be his own fellow-citizens.

According to the idea of the Middle Ages, the Roman Empire had by rights not ceased to exist. It had been renewed in the person of Charles the Great, and then transferred to the German kings; and men held that it had always remained the same old institution, and that it still signified the dominion of the Roman people over the earth. This conception was therefore associated with a patriotic feeling; Dante, proud of being himself descended from Roman blood, recognised in this idea the glorious supremacy of his own nation, that had been appointed by God as regent of the nations. Rome, Italy, not Germany, was the centre, the "garden" of the Empire, as it is called in the "Commedia"; the Emperor himself lost his national character after the dignity of the Roman people had been transferred to him, or rather, had found its expression in him. But this political ideal of Dante belonged to the past; in the efforts of Frederick II., whom he held in high esteem, he recognised the last important attempt as its realisation, and

in him the last powerful Emperor, and he awaited the return of such a one, of a political Messiah. To this patriotic illusion he remained true to the end, even after the failure of Henry VII.'s expedition to Rome. In his Latin work, the "De Monarchia," which, as was recently proved, belongs to the last years of his life, he gave another exposition of his theories, which developed and supplemented what he had said in the "Convivio" and in the letters.

This work aims at being strictly scientific; the political storms are passed, and the author desires to produce a more convincing effect by the objectiveness of his exposition. Accordingly, we find the scholastic method employed here more consistently even than in Dante's other writings. The beginning is made *ab ovo*, from principles which are not open to any doubt, and the inquiry is made to proceed according to a scheme of regular syllogisms, with their premises, middle terms and conclusions. But the precision and consistency of the doctrine, the lofty meaning that is expressed in it, and the firm conviction that goes through the entire exposition, do not fail to arouse our keen interest. The first book again sets out to prove the necessity of a universal monarchy, which alone could give peace to mankind, the condition necessary for the attainment of their goal. The monarch dispenses justice in the most perfect manner; for he cannot desire anything for himself, seeing that he has everything, and that his executive power is unlimited. Under his rule the human race enjoy true liberty, their desires being guided by the intellect. But the monarch is to be regarded as the supreme head. He does not perform every act of government himself, for the various nations must be governed differently; under the general ruler are the individual princes, whose power derives from him. And so Dante, with all his national patriotism, with all his intense love of Italy, and the desire to see it in peace and harmony, has in his eye the true political unity of his country only in so far as this is implied by the unity of mankind. The divine selection of the Roman people as the representatives of this monarchy is then demonstrated, in the second book, from the course of history, in which is seen the finger of God, and from Christ's words and actions. The third book is the most

important, as it treats of the relation between the spiritual and secular power—a point that had not as yet been touched on by Dante. Here he defends the Ghibelline idea that the Empire is independent of the Papacy, starting from the memorable formula to which this conception had been reduced by the great Ghibellines of the past, Frederick II. and Pier della Vigna, in their polemics against the Holy See. In this contest it was a favourite plan to employ Biblical passages, which were interpreted in a mystic spirit, in the place of proofs; being variously explained they were used as weapons by both factions. Frederick II. employs the image of the two lights, which God created at the beginning, and which give their light, each in its own circuit, without interfering with each other. Dante, too, did not hesitate to adopt this image in his letter to the princes and people of Italy, and in the one to the Florentines, at a time when Pope Clement and the Emperor Frederick were at peace with each other. But the Papal party deduced from it the supremacy of the priesthood, from which the secular power is derived, even as the light of the moon from the sun. Accordingly, the author of the "Monarchia" will not admit that this passage of the Bible may be mystically applied to the Pope and Emperor, and even if this interpretation were correct, he holds that it would still not have the meaning in question. For the moon derives from the sun light and power, not its existence; in the same way the Papacy illuminates the Empire with the light of grace, so that its action may be more virtuous, but does not supply the essential elements of its existence. In the same way Dante rejects the other arguments of his opponents, that of the two swords, that of the donation of Constantine, that of the elevation of Charles the Great by Hadrian, and so on. The Church cannot grant a power which it does not possess itself, its dominion is not of this world, and its earthly possessions are an abuse, in so far as they are not regarded as a mere deposit for charitable gifts to the poor. Indeed, the authority of the Emperor proceeds direct from God quite as much as that of the Pope, and the two institutions, independent of each other, are intended to supplement and to support each other. Just as man consists of a mortal and of an immortal part, so, too, he has a double aim: on the one hand, happi-

ness on earth, in the practice of the moral and intellectual virtues, according to the teaching of the philosophers; on the other, the bliss of the eternal life, to which he is guided by revelation and by the practice of the theological virtues. However man, led astray by desire, would shake off proper guidance and err from the right path, in both these directions, had not Providence given him a double curb in the shape of the secular and spiritual power.[1] The Pope guides the human race, according to revelation, to eternal salvation. The Emperor guides it according to the doctrines of philosophy, to happiness on earth. He brings about peace; he is the representative of God, executing His will, and therefore directly appointed by Him. In the same way, the Prince-Electors, who choose him, are nothing but tools in God's hand, the heralds of His preconcerted plans. It is the same principle, then, which was later, in the year 1338, solemnly proclaimed by the assembly of electors at Rense, and sanctioned by Charles IV. in the Golden Bull (1356). At the same time, the circumstance that the Imperial power is derived directly from God, does not, according to Dante, exclude the fact that the "Roman prince" is, to a certain extent, subordinate to the "Roman priest," in the same way that temporal happiness is, in a measure, only a step towards eternal bliss. Therefore Cæsar should show to Peter the same reverence that the first-born son owes his father, so that, illuminated by the ray of paternal grace, he may shed a more perfect light over the terrestrial globe. We see how Dante is here of one mind with Peter Damian, and how, in spite of his Ghibellinism, he did not cease to be a devout Catholic. And he shows himself as such in all his writings, even when, in the "Commedia," he hurls his terrible judgments against Boniface and Clement, against the Holy See and the clergy. He was the most inveterate foe of certain Popes, and of the corrupt priesthood, never of the Papacy and of the institutions of the Church. But the equal balance of the secular and spiritual power, demanded by him, the separation of the two swords, that were to support each other in friendly union, for the salvation of humanity on

[1] Petrus de Vinea, "Epist.," i. 31: "ut homo, qui erat in duobus componentibus diutius dissolutus, duobus retinaculis frenaretur, et sic fieret pax orbi terræ omnibus excessibus limitatis."

earth and in eternity, this was then, as in the time of Damian, an unattainable ideal, that had always occupied the thought of men in the Middle Ages, while, in reality, each of the two powers, in turn, continually sought to oppress and to subjugate the other.

After Baldo d'Aguglione's *Riforma* of the year 1311, the Florentines, having been defeated by Uguccione della Faggiuola at Montecatini (November 6th, 1315), again issued a decree against their exiles, which affected not only Dante, but also his sons, condemning them to death, and permitting anyone to lay hands on their persons or possessions. When, in the following year, Count Guido of Battifolle had become *podestà* of Florence, a general amnesty was declared, coupled, however, with the humiliating condition, that those returning home must pay a money fine, and be presented to the holy patron of the city in the church of S. Giovanni, this being the customary ceremony for pardoned criminals. Many were glad to avail themselves of this decree; not so Dante. "This, then," he wrote to a friend, who tried to persuade him, "is the glorious manner in which Dante Allaghieri is called back to his native town, after having endured exile for almost three lustres? Is this what his innocence, manifest to everyone, deserved? This, his unceasing labours, devoted to study? Far be from a man imbued with philosophy the frivolous baseness of a worldly heart, that he should endure to be presented like a prisoner, after the manner of men like Ciolo and other infamous ones! Far be it from a man proclaiming justice, that, after he has endured insults, he should pay his money to those that did him the insults, as to benefactors! This is not the way to return home to one's native town, my father; but if some other way were found by you or by others, that would do no injury to the fame and to the honour of Dante, I shall not be slow to enter upon it. If Florence cannot be reached by any such way, then never shall I enter Florence. How, then? Shall I not see everywhere the splendour of the sun and of the stars? Shall I not everywhere beneath the sky be able to ponder over the sweetest truths, if I do not first deprive myself of glory, nay, make myself infamous in the eyes of the people and city of Florence? Nor will bread fail me." These words reveal to

us, in the most vivid manner, the lofty moral consciousness, the haughty soul which, even in the midst of so much suffering, does not sacrifice its greatness, which, rather than commit a low action, renounces its dearest hopes. An old man before his time through misfortune, weary and longing for rest, he, nevertheless sets his dignity above his return, so eagerly longed for, to the "sweet nest," and remains in exile.

The last years of his life were spent by Dante in Ravenna, at the court of his noble friend and patron, Guido Novello of Polenta, the lord of the town, and the nephew of the Francesca da Rimini celebrated in the "Commedia." If the poet's letter to Guido, written from Venice, and dated March 30th, 1314, is genuine, in which he reports to the prince the failure of an embassy to the Venetian court, Dante repaired to Ravenna soon after the death of Henry VII., and this tallies also with Boccaccio's account. In any case we must assume that he sojourned in that city for a number of years, and that his personal intercourse with Can Grande della Scala, the lord of Verona, was limited to some short visits. Can Grande was the most distinguished of the Ghibelline princes of Italy, the chief hope of the party. Henry VII. had made him imperial vicar of Verona, and later, in the year 1318 (December 18th), he was, at Soncino, elected captain of the Ghibelline league of Lombardy. Dante, too, expected great things of him, as is shown by the mysterious, prophetic words of Cacciaguida, in the 17th canto of the "Paradiso." He dedicated to him the third *cantica* of the "Commedia," with a letter which cannot have been written later than 1318, as he does not give Can Grande the title conferred on him at Soncino. At that time Dante already knew him personally. At the beginning of the year 1320 he was again in Verona. On January 20th, he publicly discussed there, in the chapel of S. Helena, a problem of physics, which had been disputed previously in Mantua without any definite result, the question being, whether water anywhere rose to a greater height than the portion of the earth's surface that was not covered with water. His ardent longing for truth did not leave him any peace till he had come to some definite result. His answer was negative, and he demonstrated his

theory with the usual scholastic minuteness, finding also the reason why a portion of the earth (of the heavy element) raises itself above the water, in opposition to the general natural law, namely, in the influence of the fixed stars. These researches he afterwards set down, to prevent the falsification of his results.

Ravenna, the peaceful town with its magic charm, and with its wealth of monuments of the first period of Christian art, is sacred also on account of the memory of Dante, who found there his last refuge. His fame began to spread; already people began to regard him with reverence and admiration, though but few fully recognised his greatness. The grammarian, Giovanni del Virgilio, who kept an open school in Bologna, addressed to Dante (not earlier than 1318, as is proved by the historical facts to which he alludes) a Latin poem, in which he reproaches him for writing in the despised and common vulgar tongue, thus casting pearl before swine, and in which he recommends to him important events of the day for treatment in Latin verse. He would then, he says, gladly be his herald, when he should receive the laurel wreath. Dante replied in a Latin pastoral poem, which, filled with noble thoughts, and the proud consciousness of the great artist, puts down the presumptuous act of impertinence with fine irony, and is far superior to anything in the same *genre* that was subsequently produced in Italy. The pastoral dress is here no idle trifling, but a real artistic medium, employed in a case where open speech would have had a rough and unpleasing effect. Giovanni, thereupon, likewise sent a poem in the form of an eclogue, in which he invited Dante to come to Bologna, an invitation which was refused in another eclogue. In his first reply to the grammarian, Dante expressed the hope of still being crowned one day with the wreath on the banks of the Arno, when he should have published the "Paradiso," and in exactly the same strain he wrote in the "Commedia" itself ("Par.," xxv. 1, *sqq.*):

> If e'er it happen that the Poem Sacred,
> To which both heaven and earth have set their hand,
> So that it many a year hath made me lean,
> O'ercome the cruelty that bars me out
> From the fair sheepfold, where a lamb I slumbered,

An enemy to the wolves that war upon it,
With other voice forthwith, with other fleece,
Poet will I return, and at my font
Baptismal will I take the laurel crown.

Thus he promised himself, after so many disappointments, what he had not attained either by force or by a propitiatory attitude, namely, that his fame as a poet would procure him his return, when the mighty work should be completed before the eyes of all. But he did not live to see the fulfilment of this wish. He died on September 14th, 1321, at the age of fifty-six. Guido Novello had him buried with great honour, but being himself driven from Ravenna shortly after, he could not erect such a monument to him as he had intended. Not till many years later, in 1483, Bernardo Bembo, the father of the famous cardinal Pietro, had the tomb adorned with the relief of Pietro Lombardi, which is still in existence. At the order of the cardinal legate, Domenico Maria Corsi, the entire chapel was restored in 1692, and in 1780 the cardinal legate, Luigi Valenti Gonzaga, gave it the form it now has, by the side of the old church of the Franciscans. Florence, which, like a stepmother, would not endure the presence of the poet within its walls during his lifetime, subsequently repented and made repeated but futile efforts to obtain his remains. It had to rest content with honouring him by the erection of a cenotaph in Santa Croce (1829). The sixth centenary of Dante's birth (1865) was made the occasion for the most magnificent patriotic demonstrations throughout the whole of Italy, and statues were erected to him in all the important towns.

Dante who had, after the death of Beatrice, devoted himself with such ardour to philosophical studies, then turned more and more to theology, which, indeed, was in those days intimately connected with philosophy. These studies lightened the sorrows of the exile; the science of revelation became for a time a second solace, a heavenly Beatrice. The first Beatrice had been supplanted by the *Donna gentile*, by Philosophy, which inspired his second period of lyrical poetry. This form of solace had then to subordinate itself to another, to the second Beatrice, to theology, which appears allegorically under the pure and cherished image of

the love of his youth, and inspires his great poem the "Commedia."

A layman of such erudition as Dante is a phenomenon that probably would, at all times, be possible only in Italy. He knows the classical poets, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Terence, Statius, and the one that he considers the greatest of them all, Virgil. He reads Aristotle, Boethius, and Tully, as also Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura. He writes in the Latin and in the vulgar tongue concerning the highest problems, concerning the questions of philosophy, politics, language, and poetry—works so numerous and so varied, and each of them important and characteristic. He was regarded as a miracle of learning and of depth of thought by his contemporaries and by posterity, and truly he deserved this fame. But we must not endeavour to make of him a great reformer of thought, the founder of a new era. He is a great man, but the man of his time. He does not free himself from it, but is rooted in it, is the most perfect and the most vital expression of the Middle Ages, shares their ideas, their errors, and their prejudices, but also their power and their greatness. That was the age which produced so many strong characters, so many men that were consistent in all their traits, the age which allowed the great passions to develop, that were not yet shackled by the progress of culture. Such is Dante, too, and thus we know him from the few circumstances of his life that have come down, and better, from his works—a great character, undaunted by misfortune, firm in his decisions, and in that which he had recognised to be right and true, a devout believer, and, at the same time, a man of a susceptible and passionate temperament, capable of the tenderest as of the most violent feelings.

The last and the highest product of Dante's life and studies, the loftiest poetical expression of the Italian Middle Ages, is the "Commedia."

XI

"THE COMMEDIA"

THE first idea of his great poem appears to have occurred to Dante at an early date. In the first canzone of the "Vita Nuova"—"Donne che avete intelletto d'amore"—the angels pray to God that he may restore Beatrice to heaven, and God replies:

> Diletti miei, or sofferite in pace,
> Che vostra speme sia, quanto mi piace,
> Là, ov'è alcun che perder lei attende,
> E che dirà nell' Inferno a' malnati:
> Io vidi la speranza de' beati.[1]

This can only mean that Dante's mind was already at that time occupied with the idea of a poetic journey to the other world. Then, again, at the close of the "Vita Nuova," the author tells how a wondrous vision appeared to him, which made him resolve to speak no more of Beatrice till he should be able to treat of her more worthily. "And in order to attain that end, I study as much as I can, as she truly knows. So that, if it shall please Him, through whom all things have their being, that my life should last for some years longer, I hope to say of her that which never was said of any woman. And then may it please Him, who is Lord of grace, that my soul may be able to go and behold the glory of its mistress." Thus he wrote in the year 1292, and the fictitious date for the action of the "Commedia" is 1300. Though the vision of the "Vita Nuova" did not tally with that of the poem in all its detail yet it contained the germs from which the latter developed.

[1] Oh, my loved ones, suffer ye now in peace, that your hope may, so long as it pleases me, be there, where is one who expects to lose it, and who will say to the damned in Hell: "I saw the hope of the blessed."

Indeed, the ideas of the great poetic creations are of such a kind, that they do not appear all of a sudden, to be instantly realised. They arise gradually, grow together with the genius that created them, and root themselves more and more deeply in his soul. They become a part, nay, the very object of his inner life; they become enlarged and transformed, till the ripe product of this long and hidden labour comes to light. Such, too, must have been the history of the "Commedia;" but, although we can take for granted the various stages of its development, we are not able actually to follow this development step by step. The excellent romancer, Giovanni Boccaccio, who, in his biography of Dante, tells us such a number of little anecdotes concerning the poet, has also some on the subject of his great work. According to these, the first seven cantos were written while the author was still in Florence. On his condemation they were concealed in certain coffers, and stowed away in a safe place, together with other objects. Later the papers were discovered and handed over to the poet, Dino Frescobaldi, who, on seeing their contents, sent them to the Marchese Moroello Malaspina, with whom Dante was staying at the time. Whereupon the poet, at the request of the prince, continued his work, as may be easily seen, according to Boccaccio, from the opening verse of the 8th canto:

Io dico seguitando ch' assai prima,

which expresses the resumption of the thread after an interruption. It will be safe to assume, however, that the entire anecdote is due to a mistaken interpretation of this verse. Subsequently Boccacio himself in the Dante Commentary (Lez. 33), gave weighty reasons for doubting its authenticity; at any rate the 6th canto, in its present form, alludes to the exile. Boccaccio also tells us that the poem was begun in Latin, and even quotes two and a half hexameters of this first version; according to his account, however, Dante finally changed his intention, and chose the *volgare* instead, because his contemporaries would not have comprehended that lofty style, which was truly worthy of the sublimity of the theme—a reason which does not tally very well with Dante's ideas concerning the use of Italian as a

literary language. However, this whole report, and the verses quoted, were probably taken by Boccaccio from the letter of Frate Ilario, and if this is a forgery, they are forgeries too. Finally, the biographer gives us another wonderful story concerning the posthumous publication of the "Paradiso." He says that Dante, on completing six or eight cantos, was accustomed to send them to Can Grande della Scala, not communicating them to others till he had read them. When he died, the last thirteen cantos were wanting. There had been a long search for them without any results; it was generally thought that they did not exist at all; so Dante's sons, Jacopo and Pietro, were already beginning to make good the deficiency, when the father appeared to the former in a dream, and showed him the spot where they would find what they wanted. In the very house which the poet had inhabited during the last days of his life, hidden in a niche in the wall, which was unknown to anyone, the precious manuscript was actually found, covered with mould, owing to the dampness of the place, and almost destroyed. How much of this is fiction, and how much truth, can no longer be distinguished. The only point that may be regarded as certain is, that the "Paradiso" was not yet published at the time of Dante's death, whereas the "Inferno" and "Purgatorio" had become known to the public, either in their entirety or by extracts, during his lifetime, as we learn from contemporary testimony. It is a risky matter to attempt to fix the date of the composition of the individual *cantiche* or cantos, and those who have occupied themselves with this question have come to the most contrary results, of which it is scarcely worth while to take any notice.

According to Frate Ilario, the "Inferno" was dedicated to Uguccione della Faggiuola, and the other two *cantiche* were to be dedicated to Moroello Malaspina, and to King Frederick III. of Sicily. If there is any truth in this, we must assume that Dante altered his intention with regard to the latter, who, indeed, is unfavourably alluded to in various passages of the "Purgatorio" and "Paradiso," as also in other works of the poet: for the dedicatory letter belonging to the "Paradiso" is still extant, and is addressed to Can Grande della Scala. In this epistle Dante says that, as he intended making him a present, proportionate to the

friendship that bound him to the prince, and as a return for the benefits he had received from him, after a long search among the things that he had at his disposal, the sublime *cantica* of the "Commedia" had appeared to him the most worthy. Thereupon, he gives him, by way of introduction, an explanation of the subject-matter and meaning in general, and of the opening verses of the 1st canto in particular; this is, of course, a scholastic explanation, after the manner of the "Convivio," but a very valuable one for us, as it makes us acquainted with the poet's intentions and feelings with regard to his work.

He calls the "Commedia" an *opus doctrinale*, for the explanation of which six things must be examined, the subject, the author, the form, the aim, the title of the book, and the class of philosophy to which it belongs.

The meaning of the work is not one, but manifold. We have a meaning given by the letter, and another given by what the letter means; and then follows again the doctrine of the fourfold meaning, as in the "Convivio;" but the last three classes, the allegorical, moral, and anagogic, he comprehends, like Thomas Aquinas, a second time under the more general category of the second hidden meaning, as opposed to the direct literal meaning. Thomas called it the spiritual sense, while Dante again designated it as allegorical, a term which, according to its real meaning, fits all the three subdivisions.

For this reason the subject of the work, too, is twofold. First, the literal subject—the condition of the soul after death; secondly, the allegorical subject — man, acting according to his free-will, subject to a justice of punishment and reward.

And the whole poem is entitled Comedy, because it begins in a terrible and hideous manner with Hell, and closes with that which is beautiful and desirable, namely Paradise; as, on the other hand, a work is called a tragedy, which, at the beginning, is calm and splendid, but hideous and terrible at the close. Moreover, the title of Comedy is adapted to it on account of its style, which in tragedy is solemn and sublime, but in this work humble and unpretending, being the vulgar tongue in which even women hold converse.

The object of the whole is to free those that live this

earthly life from a state of misery, and to guide them to a state of bliss.

Its philosophy is to be classed as moral, for the intention is practical, and the speculative part is secondary to it.

Dante's "Commedia" is, therefore, the representation of a moral and religious idea with a didactic purpose, under the allegorical form of a vision of the next world.

Now, this religious and moral idea of the liberation of the soul from earthly misery we have already encountered as the fundamental conception of the rich literature that preceded the "Commedia." The mystical philosophers and theologians, such as Hugo of S. Victor and S. Bonaventura, describe the progressive purging of the soul, its elevation by dint of contemplation and ecstasy from the bonds of sensuality to the highest good, "the journey of the spirit to God," presented to us in Dante's own "Convivio" under the beautiful image of the pilgrim seeking shelter from house to house. The moralists, such as Bono Giamboni, let Madonna la Filosofia guide them to the true road of salvation. The popular poets, Fra Jacopone, Barsegapè, Bonvesin, Giacomino, and Uguccione da Lodi, cry out against the vanities of the world, and direct men's minds to things eternal, by narrating legends and miracles, by depicting the Last Judgment, and by dwelling on the terrors of the abyss and the joys of heaven.

This latter was the most effective, and, therefore, the most popular way of attaining the object of instruction and improvement. The great question was that of the future life, of the true life, that was to begin when this first false and wretched life was at an end, which was regarded merely as a preparation for the second. The bringing of this second life, of the torments of the sinners in Hell, and of the joy of the blessed in Paradise, before the eyes of the readers or spectators, served as a guide to the life on earth. The natural form of this literature was the vision, which rent the veil of the world beyond, and permitted the eyes of man to penetrate its secrets. Christian legend told of those who had died and been restored to life, and who could, therefore, give a detailed account of the other world. Thus it was said of Lazarus, that he had written a book on the punishments of Hell, as he had seen them with his own eyes. The

Apostle Paul was rapt to the Third Heaven, and in the cosmopolitan Latin literature possessed by the nations of Europe in the Middle Ages, there was a legend concerning S. Paul, which was translated into the vulgar tongues at an early date, and to which Dante, too, alludes in the "Inferno" (ii. 28). Three great visions of the world beyond belonging to the twelfth century, the most important and widely diffused of all, come from Ireland, namely, "The Voyage of S. Brandan and his monks, with the object of finding the promised island of the saints," "The Purgatory of S. Patrick," and "The Vision of Tundalus." As the same theme was treated so often, the author's imagination was soon unable to find any new colours, and a typical manner came into vogue for describing the localities, penalties, and rewards, which recurs again and again. Seas of ice, fire, and blood, in which the sinners are steeped, demons and serpents that tear them to pieces, the open mouth of the abyss of Hell, a very narrow bridge which leads to salvation and cannot be traversed by the damned; then, in Paradise, walls of gold and jewels, gardens, chants, and streams of purest light. In point of detail, too, we often note similarities with the "Commedia," especially in the "Vision of Tundalus," where we have a division of the penalties according to the variety of the sins, classical names for the demons and monsters, as used, to a greater extent, in Dante's "Inferno," an angel as guide on the journey, who explains the things seen and replies to theological questions in the manner of Virgil and Beatrice. But all these elements, and especially the guiding angel, occur, in isolated forms, in other legends too. The moral of the visions was also employed for special purposes. The priests adopted this powerful agent for the benefit of the Church, and it gradually developed into a satire, avenging the wrongs of this world by representing them as being redressed in the world beyond, where the highest justice rules supreme.

When the vision of Frate Alberico, the monk of Montecassino, composed in the twelfth century, was published eighty-five years ago, there was much dispute as to whether Dante had derived from it the idea of his work. Probably he did not know it at all, as it was scarcely known before its comparatively recent publication. Moreover, it is one of the driest and most trivial of all these legends. If it is

absolutely necessary to find something like a model for the "Commedia," the best claim to this distinction is possessed by the "Vision of Tundalus," which, with its gloomy and terrible images, is the most powerful, at times displaying real grandeur. But there is really no necessity for assuming that Dante borrowed from any definite source; his theme was a living one, and came to him, like these legends, straight from tradition, from the general range of contemporary thought.

In Dante's poems, visions, as we have seen, play an important part. His first sonnet contained a vision, the beautiful canzone on the presentiment of Beatrice's death contained another, and now his last work was a vision, too. But in the legends we have been discussing, the popular imagination took the narrative literally, believed that the soul had, for the time being, left the body, and seen all those things in the other world; believed, too, that these things actually were such as had been seen by the soul. In this way, indeed, Dante's work itself was regarded by the people, as we learn from Boccaccio's anecdote concerning the Veronese women, one of whom, on seeing the poet pass, exclaimed: "Look at that man, who goes to Hell and returns from it when it pleases him, and brings up from it tidings of those below," whereupon another one replied: "Indeed, you must be speaking the truth; do you not see how frizzled his beard is, and how browned he is by the heat and vapours that are down there?" Different, however, was the intention of the poet, who belonged to the most cultured classes, and who was such a scholar. For him there was no true poetry without a deeper meaning, a philosophical and moral scope, hidden beneath the allegory. For him poetry is the fair cloak of truth. It does not suffice merely to represent a thing: but this must signify something else, besides. In this way, then, the "Commedia" is linked with the lofty art poetry of the time and with Dante's earlier works. Viewed from this aspect, it is nothing but a further development of the poetical manner represented by the philosophical canzoni of the "Convivio." And here we see how Dante united in himself the two divergent tendencies, that had hitherto remained separate in Italian poetry—the popular manner of the religious pieces, and the literary manner of the high lyrical poetry. He is a follower of the erudite school,

adopting its perfected art and its principles, and wishing to realise its ideal, namely, to present a scientific theme in allegoric form. But for the image of which this allegory consists, for the cloak and symbol of his abstract ideas, for the "lofty fantasy," as he says, beneath which the second sense is to be hidden, for these he selects the most popular theme of religious poetry, the representation of the other world; and this was a splendid stroke of genius.

"In the midst of the way of our life," that is, at the age of thirty-five, Dante finds himself, as he says, in a dark wood. Thus, the fictitious date of the vision is the year 1300, that of the great Church Jubilee in Rome, and, to be more precise, the Easter week of that year. He does not know how he came into the wood, for, at the moment of his losing the right path, sleep deprived him of consciousness. He reaches a hill, whose summit he sees illuminated by the rays of the sun, and wishes to ascend, when he encounters a light-footed panther, with spotted hide. Several times he is on the point of turning, but retains some hope owing to the gay aspect of the beast and the hour of the day and the sweet season of the year, it being morning and springtime. But then a raging lion, rushing towards him, fills him with new terror, and a she-wolf, "that with all hungerings seemed to be laden in her meagreness," terrifies him so, that he gives up his first intention of climbing the mountain, and hastens back into the dark valley. At this moment Virgil appears, Virgil, who was regarded by Dante as the greatest poet of antiquity, and who was, in the Middle Ages, considered to be more than a poet, the sum of all wisdom, whose "Æneid," according to the allegorical interpretation of the time, really expressed the same idea as the "Commedia," namely, the raising of man from the bonds of sensuality to freedom and happiness, who was held, by reason of his 4th Eclogue, to be the prophet of Christianity, and who, finally, imitating Homer, had in his poem narrated the descent of his hero to the world below. It is impossible, therefore, to conceive a more suitable guide for the great spiritual journey. And in Dante's hands, Virgil, who was at that time generally regarded as a gloomy pedant, again became a more sympathetic figure. For Dante he is no mere phantom: while studying his poem, his image has

become a living thing to him. He sees him, he loves him; Virgil is his mild and gentle father and teacher. On being entreated by Dante to aid him against the she-wolf, he replies that it will not be possible to ascend the mountain by the straight way, and he tells him of the wickedness of the she-wolf, and of the great evils she will yet cause, till the greyhound shall come and drive it back into Hell, whence the envy of Satan sent it forth to earth. Therefore another path must be taken, and I, says Virgil—

> . . . . I will be thy guide,
> And lead thee hence through the eternal place,
> Where thou shalt hear the desperate lamentations,
> Shalt see the ancient spirits disconsolate,
> Who cry out each one for the second death;
> And thou shalt see those who contented are
> Within the fire, because they hope to come,
> Whene'er it may be, to the blessed people;
> To whom, then, if thou wishest to ascend,
> A soul shall be for that than I more worthy;
> With her at my departure I will leave thee;
> Because that Emperor, who reigns above,
> In that I was rebellious to his law,
> Wills that through me none come into his city.

And Dante follows him, and makes his journey down through Hell, from circle to circle, as far as the centre, and up the Mountain of Purgatory, from circle to circle, as far as the summit, the Earthly Paradise. Here, as he had announced, Virgil leaves him, and in his place appears Beatrice, who, flying with him from Heaven to Heaven, finally guides him to the Empyrean, to the sight of God.

Such is the letter of the work; its second meaning is as follows. Dante's figure is, in the poem, the symbol of the soul, of man in general. He finds himself towards the middle of his life, when he is entering on years of maturity, in the dark wood of this earthly existence, which is full of misery, anxieties, darkness, error, and sin; and he finds himself in it without knowing how he came there, since the years of youth are like a dream, in which man has, as yet, no clear consciousness of his own actions, and does not clearly distinguish what is right and true. Now he wishes to leave the condition of misery, the wood, and ascend to the fair mountain, illuminated by the ray, that is, to the

condition of happiness. But he is opposed by three animals, that is, the three animal vices by which human nature is held in the bonds of sin, the leopard, or lust, the lion, or pride, and the she-wolf, or avarice. The first of these, lust, by promising us its joys, gives us, at any rate, some hope of the desired happiness, is more pardonable as the vice of youth (the sweet season of the year), and does not make salvation altogether impossible. Pride and avarice, on the other hand, the vices of a more advanced time of life, drive us back with greater violence into the abyss of sin, and, above all, the she-wolf, who mates herself with many other animals, that is to say, avarice, or desire (*cupidigia*), as it is often called, unites itself to many other vices. In other passages, too, notably in the "De Monarchia," Dante has represented it as the chief source of all earthly ills. And so man would not be able to free himself from his sad condition, did not Virgil, that is, reason, and, at the same time, the science of reason, philosophy, come to his aid. But it does not permit him to ascend by the straight way, which is barred: man cannot free himself by a momentary decision, but only by a long and gradual inner process. This is the second circuitous route that Virgil makes Dante take. He shows him, in order to convert him, the punishments of Hell, that is, he lets him see the vices and sins in their true form and with their terrible consequences. For in Dante's Hell the old sins continue without repentance, as does the stubbornness against God, and the outward torments themselves are intended to symbolise the inner state of corruption: thus, when we see the lustful outwardly driven about without cessation by the storm, we are meant to see how the storm of passion rages within; so, too, when the violent stand in a marsh of blood, or the traitors are numbed in a sea of ice. Descending, in this way, from circle to circle, we come to the lowest sin, to avarice, that was able to deaden the most sacred emotions of the heart, to Judas, who betrayed the Lord for thirty pieces of silver, and who is crushed in one of the terrible mouths of Lucifer. And the whole of this signifies that man, in order to leave the false and to follow the true road, must know himself and the misery and sin that cling to him. Reason it is, and philosophy, that awaken this consciousness in his mind,

that permit him to descend into the hell of his own breast, and then teaches him the means by which to escape from it, namely, repentance and the practice of the virtues, difficult at first, indeed, but becoming more and more easy and pleasant. This is expressed in the Purgatory, where the ascent becomes easier, in proportion as the soul frees itself from the dust of the earth. And thus we reach the Earthly Paradise, the state of bliss that we long for. But at first it is only earthly bliss, and, as soon as this is attained, a new horizon opens itself, and a new condition of bliss is desired, that of the eternal life. Now man can no longer be guided by philosophy or human reason, which is only intended to make him happy on earth, by instructing him in the cardinal virtues; and so Virgil, the beloved father, disappears. His place is taken by Beatrice, namely, revelation, and its science, theology, who permits him to ascend to Heaven: the divine light alone is able, by means of the theological virtues, to raise us to the bliss of eternal life, to the sight of the highest good. The end, the highest step, is the vision of the unity of the three persons and of the two natures, the human and divine, just in the same way as this constitutes the final point of contemplation in Bonaventura. However, the divine light begins to have effect earlier than this; indeed, it is, in reality, the beginning of the entire process. The divine light makes use of the natural light, or reason, as an instrument with which to guide man in real life. Reason is subordinate to grace, and philosophy to theology: they are their rational supports. Grace does not interfere till it is needed; for the things which man can recognise by his own lights, there is no need of revelation. However, although grace gives a free rein to philosophy on earth, yet it is grace that sets reason in motion. Man, in his condition of misery, does not heed the voice of reason; a ray of divine grace is necessary in order to imbue it with strength. The natural light is ignited by the light of heaven: Beatrice descends from the seats of the blessed, in order to send Virgil.

Thus the moral and religious idea of the age is developed in the "Commedia." The condition of earthly happiness in the practice of virtue appears as a lower step for the attainment of eternal happiness: but it is a necessary one.

Morality is the condition of sanctity. Now, the moral order is, with Dante, intimately connected with the political order; we need only recall, from the book "De Monarchia," the doctrine of the two reins of which man, led astray by desire, has need, to enable him to attain temporal and eternal happiness, respectively. The one is the Emperor, the other the Pope ("Purg.," xvi. 103 *sqq.*). For the undisturbed practice of virtue a realm of peace and justice is necessary. Thus the moral allegory contains the germ of a political allegory, or, rather, the latter forms an inseparable element of the former. According to this, the dark wood also signifies the state of anarchy reigning throughout the world, and especially in Italy; while Virgil, who had celebrated the might of the Roman Empire in the most brilliant manner, symbolises the Ghibelline idea of the universal Roman monarchy, which alone can give peace to the world, and he prophesies a political Messiah, who shall carry out that idea, and drive back into Hell the she-wolf, desire, the source of all the wrong on earth. Dante calls him Greyhound (*Veltro*), representing him under the form of the animal that is the natural enemy of the she-wolf, and it is unlikely that he had any particular person in view. The three realms of the other world reflect our world, transformed according to strict justice as understood by the poet. Boniface VIII. and Clement V. are punished among the Simonists, while Brutus and Cassius are, together with Judas, crushed in the mouths of Lucifer, because they endeavour to destroy, in the person of Cæsar, the idea of the Holy Empire; and for the noble Henry, who came to save Italy before she was ready, a seat and a crown are waiting, among the blessed in Paradise.

However, when Dante is representing the destinies of mankind, he does not omit personal traits: for the "Commedia" gives us the history of his own life as well. After the death of his beloved, he had lost himself in a labyrinth of youthful errors, and, after gradually freeing himself by dint of philosophical studies, he at length found peace and living hope of eternal salvation in faith and theology.

We see, therefore, how enormously wide is the framework of Dante's poem, and how all the elements of the culture of the time find place in it—science, religion, politics, the

history of his nation, and his own personal experience, both inner and outer. Thus his poem comes to be the most perfect mirror of his age, and his other writings, the "Convivio," the moral *canzoni*, the "Monarchia," and even the treatise on language, may now be regarded as a long series of preparatory studies: they contain the isolated elements, which re-appear, combined, in the greater work.

However, it will easily be recognised that everything included in this wide frame cannot be poetry. The "Commedia" is also the most wonderful scientific encyclopædia of the Middle Ages, and men were, at that time, dazzled almost more by the great learning contained in it than by its poetical elements. The chronicler, Giovanni Villani, called the "Commedia" a treatise, and extolled the great and subtle, moral, physical, astronomical, philosophical, and theological questions which were treated in it, while the anonymous Florentine commentator designated Dante's poem as *questo suo trattato et maravigliosa meditazione.* Indeed, Dante uses this expression himself in reference to his work in the letter to Can Grande; he regards it as an *opus doctrinale*, examines, *inter alia*, its didactic purpose and the class of philosophy to which it belongs, and finally gives for the first verses of the "Paradiso" a scholastic commentary, in the manner of the "Convivio." But however lofty and sublime the abstract idea may be, however deep the learning, these qualities do not make a poet. If we found nothing in Dante beyond this, he would be a thinker and a man of science, and as such he would not be able to lay claim to a place in the first rank; for, in these matters, he reproduced more than he produced. His real greatness is that of the poet.

It is true that Dante wrote scientific poetry in the manner of the Florentine school, and that he himself, like Guido Cavalcanti, may have imagined that he had attained the acme of artistic perfection in those pieces which were the deepest and most obscure; but he was a poet, and selected a popular and living theme, which kindled his imagination. The vision of the other world was to be only the cloak, the symbol; but still he believed in that other world, and, in depicting it, he gave himself entirely up to his creation, clothing it not in a nebulous and transparent form, such as

might appear to belong to symbolism and allegory, but in a form which was concrete and palpable, awakening in the breast of the reader emotions as strong as those that had created it. His was a fiery and passionate spirit, and in his work we find his most intimate interests, his scientific enthusiasm, his glowing faith, his political party-hatred, the gentle reminiscences of his native town and friendships, and, finally, the tenderest of all his feelings, his love for Beatrice, which, though it was temporarily obscured, was never entirely extinguished in his heart, and which now blossomed forth again, in order to celebrate the apotheosis of his mistress. Thus the literal is victorious over the hidden meaning: the direct exposition acquires an independent signification, which goes far beyond the allegory it was intended to express.

Antiquity already possessed the doctrine according to which misdeeds were punished and merit rewarded in the world beyond. However, this doctrine was not developed; men's minds were too much engrossed with this life on earth, to occupy themselves much with the life to come. The idea of the other world remained vague and indefinite, and did not receive the plastic form, which the ancients were wont to impart to their conceptions. It was the realm of shades, concerning which there was but little to be said. We hear of the torments of Tantalus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tityus. But the rest resolves itself into general data; the localities are but rapidly sketched, nor are the condemned souls classified. Virgil's Sybil gives to Æneas only a general account of those dwelling in the regions below, without discriminating the sins and penalties. The Middle Ages, on the other hand, regarded the world beyond in an entirely different way. For them it was the main question, more important even than that of the present life. The imagination of men was busy representing to itself the future life, and the sojourn of the souls and their destiny had to be depicted in more convincing colours, because a moral purpose was intended. It is true that we have in Virgil a kind of Hell as also a kind of Paradise, the Elysian Fields, where Æneas meets his father Anchises, and where his glorious descendants are shown him. We have even a kind of Purgatory ("Æn.," vi. 739, *sqq.*), that is, a state of temporary

penitence for the good as well. But all of this is vague and confused, and the limits are hazily drawn. In the Middle Ages, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise are distinguished, and sharper boundaries are drawn between them; the doctrine of the Church, which settles the principle of gradation for sin and merit, puts an end to all confusion on this point. The localities and torments are minutely depicted with realistic colours, and we can detect a tendency to distribute the punishments according to the variety of the sins. Such is the method adopted in the popular visions. And yet, how far are these removed from Dante's conception! Here an imagination of incomparable power and boldness seized upon the vaguely connected ideas of legendary traditions, and transformed them into a pile of architecture so definite and so clear, that we have no difficulty in drawing the precise plan of Dante's world beyond, as, indeed, has often been done.

Dante's Hell is in the form of a funnel, with its mouth at the centre of the earth, descending from steep to steep in nine gradations, each of which leaves space for an edge or circle; these circles, which are frequently subdivided, are the sojourn of the condemned souls. From circle to circle the sin becomes blacker and the punishment more terrible, till the centre of the earth itself is reached, where dwells Lucifer, the "Emperor of the dolorous realm," crushing the three great traitors, Judas, Brutus, and Cassius, in his three mouths. It has been well said, that this mathematical form deprives the abyss of Hell of much of the horror associated with the idea of infinity, and there may be truth in this; but it is doubtful whether this is a subject for regret. The infinite is not a reality, but abstraction and negation, and the impression it leaves is not an image, but a vague, lyrical sensation. And so Dante did well to sacrifice, from the outset, that of which, at all events, his poetry was not capable.

From Hell a very narrow path leads to the other—the Western—hemisphere, which was, at that time, held to be completely covered with water, and devoid of inhabitants. A solitary mountain rises up from the waves, the Mountain of Purgatory, the conical form of which corresponds to the funnel-like shape of Hell. Its upper portions are surrounded

by seven circles, in which penance is done for the seven capital sins. From each circle the soul issues freed from a sin, and its ascent becomes more and more easy till it reaches the summit, the Earthly Paradise. Hitherto we have not left the earth. But round the ball of the earth, which was regarded as the centre of the universe, revolve the nine heavenly spheres of the Ptolemaic system, which denote the graduated order of the hierarchy of the blessed. These appear in the separate spheres, according to their various degrees of perfection; but their true abode is in the Empyrean, the tenth heaven of pure light, where they enjoy the sight of God.

This architecture of the world beyond divides the subject-matter of the poem in the most systematic way. In the composition there is a strict economy, which is apparent in the symmetrical arrangement of the outward form. Each of the three *cantiche* consists of thirty-three cantos; the hundred is made up by the introductory canto, which is now reckoned to the "Inferno." We may note here again the propensity towards the symbolism of numbers, which we remarked in the "Vita Nuova." To us this appears mere trifling, but in Dante's eyes it added to the solemnity of the general impression, and, for a similar reason, he made a special point of ending each of the three *cantiche* with the same word—*stelle*. The number of the verses in the separate cantos varies but little. The choice of the metrical form itself was for Dante a matter of no slight difficulty. Before him there was no narrative art poetry, barring the "Tesoretto," with its inconvenient rhyming couplets in verses of seven syllables. The popular narrative poetry employed stanzas of four long verses or the *serventese*. The latter was selected by Dante, who judiciously and successfully moulded it to his purpose. For, although the uninterrupted concatenation of rhymes was best adapted to an extended and continuous narrative, yet the old scheme of the *serventese* dragged too much in its movement, resembling that of the wandering minstrels. This fault was obviated by the more artificial arrangement of the rhymes in *terzine*.

The same clearness and realism displayed in Dante's general plan, is found also in the delineation of each

separate locality. However, such description is not poetry, so long as it lacks life and movement, so long as it lacks characters: for man and his life are the sources of poetry, which is inherent in things only in so far as they derive it from man. It is not so much the localities depicted that supply the real poetry of the "Commedia," as the souls that dwell in them, whom Dante meets on his journey, and with whom he enters into more or less lengthy conversations.

The popular visions were, in their essence, descriptions of tortures. The sinners were placed in various classes and categories, according to their sins and the corresponding punishments. Tundalus sees a high mountain, on the one side of which are flames emitting a stench, on the other, ice and wind, in which the souls are alternately tormented: these are the faithless ones and deceivers, as the guiding angel tells him. He beholds a river of sulphur, in which are other sinners, the proud; the misers are swallowed by the monster Achorons, and so on. We have here not individuals and men, but whole classes of sinners, mere symbols of the sin itself. And what took place in these old visions? "Cries and shouts and noise," as Giovanni Villani says of the representation of Hell, which took place at Florence in the year 1304. It is thought that, save for the noise, this performance was merely pantomime, and this view is undoubtedly correct. What did these "spirits in pain" have to say? They possessed no individuality, and they scarcely ever have even a name; in the written legends, too, they very rarely speak. They are "naked spirits"; for them nothing exists any longer but sin and punishment; all else has disappeared.

Now, in this respect, we find that the classical poets adopt exactly the opposite method. The inhabitants of their lower world are shadows, it is true, but still they continue to exist, with their concrete personality, with their former feelings and passions, with the occupations they pursued during their life on earth: they are shades, but shades of true life. Dante did not know the famous scenes of the world below in the "Odyssey," but he was acquainted at least with Æneas's journey to Hades, which Virgil derived from Homer. The personages the hero encounters there, Palinurus, Dido, Deiphobus, and Anchises, speak and feel

as they did when they still beheld the light of the sun; they show all their former sympathy for the things in the world above, and inquire after them with curiosity and love. And it is just the same with Dante's figures. They are complete personalities, moved to the other world, just as they were in this life, with the same ideas and sentiments; and in the same way as Virgil's Dido still loves, and, still enraged, turns away from the ungrateful Trojan, without replying to him, and as Deiphobus shows himself still terribly mutilated by the wounds he has received from Menelaus, so, in the "Commedia," Capaneus still threatens Heaven, in Ugolino lives all his former terrible rage, Farinata is wrathful, Francesca loves: they are all, not universal types, but persons and individuals. Strictly speaking, this method of presentation is scarcely consistent with the Christian ideas, according to which all the interests of this life cease in the world beyond. But this is not the only instance in which Dante contradicts the theologians, and out of this contradiction arise his poetical figures and scenes. It is this that Dante could learn from his Virgil; in his work he saw this plastic definiteness, this humanity of the characters, who should, according to the Christian point of view, have been naked spirits. Dante rediscovered man, who had been lost to art since the days of antiquity, and who is presented again for the first time in the realm of the dead.[1]

Dante's poem describes to us a spiritual journey. It passes from place to place, continually changing the scenery and the characters of the drama; one single person always remains, Dante, the traveller himself. In the "Commedia" the greatest subjectivity rules supreme: the poet himself never leaves the scene of action, he is the hero of the action, the most interesting figure in it, and all that he sees and learns awakens a living echo in his emotional soul. He speaks with the sinners, the penitents, and saints, and in these conversations he paints himself. But for a journey on so grand a scale every conceivable space must needs be limited, even that of the longest poem. An enormous number of persons appears and disappears in this poem. The reader is continually hurried onwards from one to the other:

[1] *Nel regno de' morti si sente per la prima volta la vita nel mondo moderno* (Francesco de Sanctis, "Stor. Lett." i. 213).

there is little time for each, and a few traits must suffice to sketch his portrait. The great scenes are developed almost casually, or, rather, there is no space for their development, so rapidly does the narrative progress. In this way Dante's "Inferno," especially, is a very whirlwind of emotions, passions, and events. If it had not been a Dante that was creating them, the poetical situation would have been destroyed and the figures stifled, the work becoming dry and empty owing to the superabundance of the subject-matter. But Dante possesses the art of drawing his figures even in a limited space. At times they remain sketches, though sketches by a master-hand; but frequently the few traits suffice to bring before our mind the entire and complete picture, with all its details. Dante is the great master of poetic expression: with his energetic style, he is able to condense a world of ideas and feelings in a single word, in an image that carries us away and places us in the midst of the situation.

At the very beginning of the "Commedia," in the midst of the thorny allegories, the reader is fascinated by the sympathetic figure of Virgil, and by the gentle opening conversation between him and his charge. The fourth canto describes the privileged sojourn of the great heathens in Limbo, and expresses in a most fascinating manner Dante's deep reverence for antiquity, and, at the same time, the consciousness he has of his own merit, when he tells how he was himself introduced by Virgil into the circle of the five great poets as a sixth. He felt that he was destined to revive an art that had been so long lost, and just pride such as this pleases us in the case of a man of genius. The general impression of this situation is vivid, the noble gathering, all the heroes and sages, and, in their midst, their great admirer and disciple. But the individual figures are not yet clearly distinguished; the poet gives little more than a number of names, rarely adding an epithet or a circumstance that might characterise the man. It is a kind of catalogue, and not even the usual *et cetera* of such enumerations is missing (iv. 145):

Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno.

This same method, which is, as it were, an abbreviated form of true poetic exposition, is continued in the follow-

ing canto. Here the poet has reached the second circle, that of the carnal sinners, who are driven to and fro by a raging tempest. Among them he sees Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, Helen, Achilles, Paris, Tristan, *e più di mille.* But these enumerations of Dante's are merely introductory: from the bands of spirits, forming the general background, single ones detach themselves. Among these souls, two, that are borne along together by the wind, specially attract his attention. They are Francesca of Rimini and her Paolo, who, burning for each other with sinful love, were slain by Gianciotto Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, Francesca's husband, and the brother of Paolo. Dante does not know them, but the pair, united even in the torments of Hell, arouse his sympathy; he would fain speak with them, and obtains his guide's permission. This is one of the passages in which the special character of Dante's poetry is best revealed. Many persons, nowadays, who have heard the famous Francesca da Rimini so much discussed, may perhaps feel somewhat disappointed when they open the book. There are scarcely seventy verses, which are quickly read, and which leave but little impression on the ordinary and superficial reader. A sensitive mind is needed for the appreciation of Dante's condensed poetry. It is to be found in each small detail, in every syllable—nothing is empty and devoid of meaning: but much remains dumb to him who hurries over the verses.

Acting on Virgil's advice, Dante entreats the two souls by the love that binds them together, and they follow the sympathetic call—

> As turtle doves, called onward by desire,
> With open and steady wings to the sweet nest
> Fly through the air by their volition borne.

This gentle image, taken from the "Æneid," but imbued by Dante with a more intimate spirit, serves as a preparation for the moving scene. This very trait of their immediately following the call that is directed to their love, and even more so the first words of the reply, characterise the two figures. Francesca's is a noble and tender soul, and the sympathy shown her by a stranger moves her deeply in her pain. In her gratitude, she would fain pray for him to the

King of the Universe; but she is in Hell, and her entreaties are not heard in Heaven. She will at least fulfil his wish by answering him. She tells him who they are, by indicating their native place, and above all by speaking of that which has brought them down there, their unexampled and boundless love. In seven lines is contained the whole history of their feelings. Each *terzina* begins with the word "love," each one describes to us the growth of its power, and shows us how it arises in the man's heart on beholding the beautiful woman, how it is kindled in the heart of the woman when she sees herself loved, how it becomes their common fate and hurries them to one common doom. When Dante has heard this, he can no longer doubt who the two are, whose destiny has been so powerfully affected by love, and his second question begins with the name Francesca, although she has not told it him. But first he relapses into a deep silence, and bows his head, so that his guide asks him of what he is thinking. The few words he has heard enable him to imagine all the feelings, joys and sorrows they conceal, and he turns to her again with a deeper interest:

> Thine agonies, Francesca,
> Sad and compassionate to weeping make me.
> But tell me, at the time of those sweet sighs,
> By what and in what manner Love conceded,
> That you should know your dubious desires?

Dante puts this question of his in the tenderest manner, for it would be intrusive if prompted by curiosity and not by sympathy. But Francesca at once detects the latter quality, and therefore she will answer, although the recollection gives her pain:

> Farò come colui che piange e dice.[1]

This passage has often been compared with that other one, apparently so similar, at the beginning of Ugolino's narrative ("Inf." xxxiii. 4), in order to show the consummate mastery with which Dante was able to depict his various characters, even outwardly, by the sound of the verses. Here in Francesca's speech all is soft and harmonious, in Ugolino's all is rough and hard; in the one

[1] I will do even as he who weeps and speaks.

all is love, in the other rage and fury. It gives Ugolino pain, as it did Francesca, to speak of the past; but Francesca speaks because she notes Dante's sympathy, Ugolino because he desires to revenge himself on his enemy. Francesca scarcely speaks of her enemy, only distantly, and in the most moving manner she alludes to her violent death: Caina awaits him, who killed her and Paolo—that is all. She does not even name him, she does not think of him: she does not hate, but loves. She tells of her love, of her joys and of the happy time, that was happy though sinful. One day they read of Lancelot's love; they were alone and without suspicion. Their eyes met several times, and their cheeks coloured—

But one point only was it that o'ercame us.

The passion is there; but it is still slumbering, concealed in the heart, and on beholding itself, as it were, in a mirror, it recognises and becomes conscious of itself, and bursts forth suddenly in a mighty flame. When they read how the queen was kissed by Lancelot, Paolo kissed her mouth, all trembling—

That day no farther did we read therein.

While she is speaking these words, the other soul, Paolo, silently accompanies her words with tears. The poet lets her alone speak: for the lament of unhappy love is more touching from the lips of a woman. The short narrative ends with the catastrophe of the passion. Free play is left to the excited imagination, and Dante, a passionate nature, who has experienced the tempests of the heart, is so full of sympathy for them, that he sinks to the ground, "as a dead body falls."

And this scene must be imagined in the surroundings of Hell, in the midst of the darkness and of the raging and howling tempest—a contrast that increases its power. It is the romance of love in its greatest simplicity, but combined with all the emotional elements that make a deep impression on the mind. The dominant feeling, that of boundless love, is expressed in traits that are rapid, but full of significance. By their love are the two spirits conjured, and they come. Their love continues undiminished even in the

midst of such agony—"it does not yet desert me," says Francesca—and together they are carried along by the wind, united in punishment, as they were in happiness. Their love was their sin. For him who is condemned, the sin lasts to all eternity, and so their love is eternal. It is their guilt, but there is consolation in it, too—

Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso.[1]

In the sixth canto of the "Inferno," among the gluttons who are tortured in the third circle of Hell, Dante meets the Florentine Ciacco, who prophesies to him the sad destiny of his native town. In the seventh canto, the two wanderers are with the avaricious and prodigal in the fourth circle, and here Virgil addresses to Dante the famous lines describing Fortune, an angelic creature like the others, and set by God among men, in order to preserve equality among them, and to let worldly passions pass from one hand to another, as justice demands. In the fifth circle, as they are crossing the Stygian marsh containing the wrathful, in Phlegyas' boat, the meeting with Filippo Argenti takes place. This is narrated with bitter hatred and thirst for vengeance, pointing not merely to moral indignation on the part of the poet, but to personal enmity. In order to enable Dante and Virgil to enter the city of Dis, which occupies the lower portion of Hell from the sixth circle, the "messenger of Heaven" (*del ciel Messo*) appears in the ninth canto; this is a poetical creation of great distinction, a figure biblical in its grandeur, introduced from the outset with the sublimest images. The angel is girt with mystery, which is expressed by Virgil's hints at the end of the eighth canto and by the interrupted words at the beginning of the ninth. Virgil does not say who is coming, nor how he is coming, nor who has sent him. All these are circumstances which we do not learn; he who is coming is such a one as will open the gate of the city, it is some one that will bring aid. This mystery excites the imagination, and we remain in suspense; we expect something extraordinary and are not disappointed. Now he comes. His steps are accompanied by a boisterous sound, terrible as the roar of a tempest. The banks of the marsh tremble; before

[1] This one, who ne'er from me shall be divided.

the angel's heavenly purity, before his awe-inspiring majesty, everything flees that is not pure. The damned souls hide themselves like frogs before a snake; the sinner cannot endure the sight of what is heavenly. And he goes onward, the misery and hideousness of the abyss do not affect him, he remains pure and radiant in that darkness, he does not defile himself in that filth. Dante, on seeing him, is seized with an unwonted feeling. He turns to Virgil and would fain speak and question him, but is made by him to keep silence and bow down. This is the time not for curiosity, but for reverence; one must be silent and devout, humbly receiving the benefit of Divine grace. When the devils behold the messenger of Heaven, they resist no longer; his staff suffices to open the gates. He reproves the stubborn ones, and turns back without speaking to the poets. This sudden turning back is a movement of incomparable impressiveness. His office is at an end, the gate stands open and he tarries no longer; the things that surround him do not attract his attention, and he turns his back without casting a look, not because he despises those whom he has protected, but because his mind is wholly taken up with other matters. As mysteriously as he came, the messenger of Heaven disappears; but the effect of his presence remains. Before, there was excitement, fighting, and threats. He comes, and immediately all opposition is at an end; he goes, and peace reigns supreme, and calmly the two poets enter the flaming city. Each action shows us the greatness of this figure; but the chief effect is produced by the contrast between the purity and majesty on the one hand, and on the other the lowliness and vileness of the place, when he comes, inspiring terror over the turbid waters, traversing the hideous marsh dryshod, with the movement of his hand keeping the thick air from his countenance, accustomed as it is to the light of the spheres, and then returning full of majesty along the "dirty road." Here we have the appearance of Heaven in the midst of Hell—a situation unparalleled in its sublimity, such as, since the Bible, only Dante's powerful imagination has been able to conceive.

In the tenth canto two powerful scenes are intertwined. Here Dante finds, among the heretics who lie in fiery graves, Farinata degli Uberti, the head of the Ghibellines and a

political opponent of his ancestors, who were driven from Florence by him. While they speak together their anger is kindled, and in their rapid dialogue is aroused all the old hatred of the parties that rent asunder the cities of Italy. But while Farinata, after a cutting assertion of the other speaker, is filled with sorrow at the triumph of his enemies and relapses into silence for a time, though his subsequent reply is no less bitter, the shadow of Guido Cavalcanti's father, Cavalcante, rises up. He recognises Dante, and is surprised not to see his own son with him. Then, as an ambiguous word in the poet's speech has made him believe that his son is dead, he sinks back, overcome by grief:

Supin ricadde e più non parve fuora,[1]

a verse that depicts in a wonderful manner the emotion of the father, as also the proud and passionate spirit of the great Ghibelline, and his long and silent reflections, during which he has heeded nothing that is going on around him, so that he begins again as though there had been no lapse of time. This period of silence another would have left unoccupied, or filled with indifferent matter. Not so Dante: between his own concluding word and the word of Farinata that takes up the dialogue again, he intercalates the whole deep story of fatherly grief. This shows us again the condensed power of Dante's poetry: in this passage of a hundred verses such a variety of emotions assail our mind in turn, that time and calm reflection are essential if we would receive a clear and complete impression of the whole. And yet, if we try to imagine something of less weight, between the two portions of the conversation with Farinata, than the episode of Cavalcanti, we shall find that the passage would have lost considerably in effect. The more significant and touching the traits that precede, the more expressive is the impassibility of that magnanimous man, who was occupied only with his own grief, and

did not his aspect change,
Neither his neck did move, nor bent his side.

The meetings with Pier della Vigna and with Brunetto

. . . . Supine
He fell again, and forth appeared no more.

Latini in the seventh circle, that of the violent, I shall mention only in passing; on the other hand, I shall examine more closely Dante's originality from another point of view. The eighth circle of Hell, that of the deceivers, which consists of ten concentric valleys, spanned by rocky arches in the manner of bridges, was named by the poet *Malebolge* ("Evil Pouches")—a sarcastic expression instead of "sorrowful pits." And these pits are indeed very sorrowful; they are the place for the most odious crimes, the place for mockery and invective. Higher up Dante had, it is true, also been bitter and sarcastic, when he was standing by Farinata, and his political passions and wounded family pride were aroused. In spite of this, however, he remained full of reverence and admiration for that high-souled man, before whom Hell itself appears to sink down when he raises himself from his tomb. But now he no longer feels any reverence: his satire becomes terrible and relentless, being directed against things which he detests most.

The other world, set against this world of ours, generally ends by criticising and satirising it, as was usual even in the earlier legends; but the true place for the satirical element are the lower regions of Hell. The sins that are punished in the upper circles may be combined with magnanimity and with tenderness of soul. Dante is compelled, by moral conviction, to place in Hell Francesca, Farinata, Cavalcante, Pier della Vigna, and even his fatherly friend Brunetto Latini. But he does not reprove and mock them; on the contrary, he feels deeply for them in their torments, loves and admires them, and immortalises their sympathetic figures in the episodes depicted. He does not conceal or excuse their sin; but this sin is of such a kind that it does not touch their character. Other vices, on the other hand, according to Dante, affect the entire personality of the man, destroy human nature itself, and but rarely leave room for nobler qualities. These sinners are, therefore, detestable beings; their case must be met not by compassion, but by relentless justice: here mockery and contempt are called for. With these the last two circles are almost entirely filled. We say "almost" advisedly: for even here there is not an utter lack of greatness in all the figures, and we cannot but admire the bold Ulysses, and sympathise with

Ugolino, while he fills us with terror. Poetry revolts against the systematic strictness of logic. It is not a religious and philosophical treatise with which we are dealing, and the vivid imagination of the poet, in these portions of the poem as always, traverses the entire gamut of human feelings.

Dante's satirical power is at its height when he encounters Pope Nicholas III. among the simonists ("Inf." xix.). The Pope is in a pit in the third *bolgia*, his head stuck in foremost, and his burning soles jutting out. Whilst he painfully moves his legs to and fro in the air, he has to listen to Dante's words of reproof and mockery:

> Whoe'er thou art, that standest upside down,
> O doleful soul, implanted like a stake . . .

With these expressions of contempt the poet begins his discourse. He then compares him with a murderer, who is buried alive, and who, in order to put off his death for a short while, calls again for the confessor; the murderer is the Pope, and the confessor, Dante. But the bitterest mockery the poet placed in the sinner's own mouth, when he confesses in such a way that his words become a satire against himself:

> Know that I vested was with the great mantle,

he begins; but scarcely is there time for reverence for the highest dignity on earth to be awakened, when he adds how he defiled it, thus changing the nascent feeling to one of loathing:

> And truly was I son of the She-bear,
> So eager to advance the cubs, that wealth
> Above, and here myself, I pocketed.

This ironical allusion to the Pope's family name (Orsini), and the play on the word *borsa*, which, in its rapidity, has a sharp point, become all the most effective from the fact that he has to utter the words himself. Nicholas III. was dead in the year of the vision; but two other Popes were still alive, whom Dante hated no less, perhaps even more, because they were his political enemies, the opponents or impediments of his political ideal—Boniface VIII. and Clement V. By means of one of those astounding inven-

tions, so many of which sprang from his fertile mind, he intertwined with this satire against Nicholas a satire against the other two. The simoniacal Popes will all come into the same pit, and, coming one after the other, will force each other lower down. In this way it happens that Nicholas is expecting the one and prophesies the other's coming, whereby Dante again has the advantage of placing his sarcasms in another's mouth, thus adding to their power and effect. It is a worthy predecessor of theirs that speaks and foretells their shame. Pope Nicholas hears voices at the edge of the pit, and he immediately thinks that it must be Boniface coming to take his place and to push him down. This eager expectation of the other converts the prophecy into reality, and we already see Pope Boniface VIII., too, head foremost in the pit, moving his flaming soles about in the air. In this way Dante knew how to avenge himself and to deal out punishment, when he considered it just. But after the mockery he rises to a feeling of moral earnestness. It is no longer irony, but genuine pain that rings from his words: "Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother . . . ," and this holy wrath pleases his good guide, Virgil, who listens with approval to his disciple's words, and then takes him into his arms, raises him to his breast and carries him to the top of the next bridge. That is just the reason why Dante's satire is so magnificent, because of the earnestness on which it is based. He is so bold, because he feels himself strong in faith. He does not attack religion and ecclesiastical institutions; on the contrary, he defends the Church against its false shepherds. He reproves the bad Popes, but bows reverently before the Papacy, and deeply feels the shame brought on it by Philip the Fair, although the direct sufferer was one whom he placed in Hell.

From satire there naturally develops a comic element, which had its place in the old legends and in the French mysteries, where, after the gradual elimination of the moral intention, it gave birth to farce. With Dante laughter is still essentially an agent for punishment and correction, as in the former visions of Hell. The place for this comic element is the fifth *bolgia*, where the peculators are immersed in a sea of pitch. Here we have the scenes of the

shade of the man of Lucca, which the devils are dragging along and throwing into the lake, and of Giampolo of Navarra, who deceives the devils themselves, whereupon they become entangled in a curious brawl and fall into the pitch ("Inf." xxi., xxii.). These are humorous descriptions, such as we might expect at that time, rough and primitive in the expressions and images, now and again recalling the infernal kitchen of Fra Giacomino; but they are of a kind to become popular, and, in point of fact, the grotesque figures of the devils, especially, did become popular, their names, Barbariccia, Libicocco, etc., occurring frequently in later Italian literature.

In the seventh *bolgia* (c. xxv.) occurs the description of the transformation of men into serpents, and serpents into men, which has always been admired as an extraordinary feat of the imagination. And such, indeed, it is. At the same time it appears to me that the effect does not correspond entirely to the means employed. This description is too minute to be fantastic, and the imagination demands greater freedom of treatment in the case of matters that entirely transcend the limits of the natural; being shackled by so many details, it remains inactive and does not really represent the marvel to itself, with the result that the effect produced is grotesque rather than fantastic, as is the case here. I do not mean that even such an effect is wasted; on the contrary, it is well adapted to regions of the comic and grotesque, like the *Malebolge*. All I maintain is that this transformation should not be given out as one of Dante's greatest creations. Farinata on his bed of fire, the celestial messenger traversing the Stygian marsh dryshod, Pope Nicholas in the infernal *borsa*, are splendid creations of Dante's imagination. The eighth *bolgia* (c. xxvi.), again, supplies us with a picture loftier in character—Ulysses, the immortal type of man's thirst for knowledge, in whose bold voyage of discovery Dante has managed to express all the strange poetry of the sea.

The deeper we descend, the more crude and realistic does the style become: Dante does not hesitate to present to us objects that are ugly, and to call them by their proper name. The sojourn of the forgers in the tenth *bolgia* (c. xxix. *sq.*) is the place of the most loathsome things, of

diseases, wounds, and stench, and the poet does not spare his colours; on the contrary, he paints for us, intentionally and with various images, the most disgusting objects. He also describes to us the quarrel between Master Adam of Brescia and the Greek Sinon. They come to blows and hurl vulgar imprecations at each other, so that Virgil is almost angry with the poet for listening—

For a base wish it is to wish to hear it.

Further on even this ceases; every kind of movement ceases. In the ninth and last circle the very nature of Hell has become ice, and the sinners are frozen in ice. Here treachery is punished—the deepest corruption of the human mind. Against this blackest of sins the heart is closed, for these condemned souls there is naught but cruel hatred. Dante ill-treats them, and ruthlessly treads on them with his feet. Higher up he gave the souls promises of fame, in order to make them speak. But these down here do not wish people in the world to speak of them: they cannot expect glory, but only infamy. Accordingly, they do not wish to speak, and to say who they are; but Dante endeavours to make them do it by force, nay, even by deception. He finds in the ice Bocca degli Abati, who betrayed the Guelphs in the battle of Montaperti. When he gives no reply to the question as to who he is, the poet's wrath is kindled: he seizes him by the hair, and begins shaking him so that he howls, with his eyes turned down (xxxii. 97). In this trait of savage cruelty towards the sinner, towards the soul abandoned by Divine grace, there is something magnificent in the very barbarism, that shows us Dante as the man of his age, with his pitiless conception of justice. But, none the less, even in the midst of this icy desert, here at the very end of Hell, where every feeling would seem to be dead, appear once again all the poetic elements that we found in such numbers in the upper circles. In the scene of Ugolino the entire poetic character of Dante's Hell is revealed again; it forms, as it were, a final synthesis of this Hell, with all its horrors and emotions. Never was a more terrible spectacle invented by a poet. Here Divine justice has made the injured one himself the instrument for punishing the criminal, and handed the

sinner over to the man he has sacrificed, so that the latter may avenge himself; and Ugolino satisfies his boundless wrath by gnawing away the skull of his enemy, the Archbishop Ruggieri. But, on being questioned by Dante, this shade opens its mouth to speak, and tells us its story, this, too, from motives of revenge; however, it is a story of tender feelings, which, being wounded in bestial fashion, have become the cause of this bestial revenge.

The first *cantica*, the "Inferno," is the most popular and the best known portion of the "Commedia." Sixty-five years ago Fauriel designated this general preference as an old prejudice, which it was time to remove. "Without doubt," he said, "the 'Inferno' contains great beauties; but the greatest are incontestably in the two other parts."[1] However, the general public has not since then subscribed to this opinion of the illustrious critic, thereby showing its judgment. Not that Dante is inferior as a poet in the two other *cantiche;* but in these his theme was a different one, and of such a nature that even his genius was not always able to overcome its difficulties. At the very entry into Purgatory the dramatic life becomes less intense. Those condemned in Hell remain for ever in their sin; but at the same time they retain their human form. On the other hand, the soul which becomes purified and ascends to God, leaves behind everything that is earthly, as the corruption which it is entirely bent on shaking off. Those scenes full of passion are no longer possible; the moral idea is more obvious, and the symbolism plays a larger part. The inner process of conversion, repentance, and purification is outwardly expressed by the seven P's which the angel writes on Dante's brow, and which signify the seven mortal sins, and are cancelled one after the other, as also by the ascent, ever increasing in easiness, of the steps that lead from one circle to the other. Images cut in the rocks, representing well-known examples from sacred and profane history, voices in the air alluding to these, and allegorical visions, acquaint the reader in every circle with the nature of the sin for which penance is done there, and with the condition of the suffering souls; and the same object is achieved by the Latin psalms and Church

[1] "Dante et les origines de la langue et de la littérature italiennes," i. 31. (Paris, 1854; lectures delivered in 1833 and 1834.)

hymns sung by the spirits, which, as being generally known, the poet only indicates by the opening words—a mode of abbreviation that can scarcely be termed poetical. We have still scenes full of tender and warm feeling, such as Dante's meeting with Casella or with Forese Donati; but the impression is more gentle and more subdued. The souls no longer appear so violently moved, nor with so strong an individuality, but are depicted with more general traits. Among them we have, perhaps, only two figures of pronounced personal character—Sordello, the type of a noble and proud patriotism, whose appearance gives occasion for the magnificent lament on the strife raging in Italy; and Statius, whose colloquy with Virgil again expresses in so warm a manner Dante's love for and admiration of antiquity.

The general character of the "Purgatorio" is one of gentleness and calm. One feels that one is ascending towards peace, and accordingly those figures are drawn most successfully which are, as it were, the forerunners and messengers of heavenly peace, namely, the angels. Nature, too, is now as peaceful and gentle as it was overpowering and terrible in Hell, and the contrast produces a wonderful effect, when the poets return from the darkness of the abyss to the sight of Heaven, light and colour (i. 13):

> Sweet colour of the oriental sapphire,
> That was upgathered in the cloudless aspect
> Of the pure air, as far as the first circle,
> Unto mine eyes did recommence delight
> Soon as I issued forth from the dead air,
> Which had with sadness filled mine eyes and breast.

Soon after (i. 115) is described the delightful spectacle offered to us when, at the disappearance of darkness, we see, from a height, the first rays of the sun glittering on the ripple of the sea. Nature is poetical through its relation with our emotions, and it is in this sense that Dante, a master in this field, too, depicts it. He wishes to paint for us the evening twilight, and instead of enumerating external objects, he presents the scene to us by means of the impression it makes on the human heart, in the famous verses at the beginning of the eighth canto:

'Twas now the hour that turneth back desire
In those who sail the sea, and melts the heart,
The day they've said to their sweet friends farewell,
And the new pilgrim penetrates with love,
If he doth hear from far away a bell
That seemeth to deplore the dying day.

After the storm of the passions has ceased, there is room for peaceful thought, for scientific and philosophical contemplation. The long abstract didactic passages become more and more frequent. Virgil discourses on the inscrutability of Divine justice, on sins caused by false love, on free will, and also on astronomical questions; whilst Statius dilates on the origin of the three faculties of the soul, according to Aristotle, and on the spiritual body with which the souls clothe themselves in the other world, so that they preserve their human aspect. Here in the "Purgatorio" occur also Dante's important and oft-quoted maxims concerning art and poetry, in the colloquies with Oderisi da Gubbio, Buonagiunta Urbiciani, and Guido Guinicelli.

Towards the end of the "Purgatorio," when Dante has reached the Earthly Paradise, a magnificent procession comes towards him, described with details that are, for the most part, taken from the Apocalypse. This is a representation of the triumph of Faith. On to the triumphal chariot (an image of the Church), drawn by the griffin (which in its double form represents the Man-God), descends Revelation or Theology. But this figure is called Beatrice, and not merely is it called so, but it actually is Dante's Beatrice. The "Commedia" was to be the apotheosis, the glorification of the loved one; by dint of long study the poet wished to prepare himself, in order to say of her things that had never been said of any woman. Thereupon his mistress became more and more transfigured in his eyes, personifying the loftiest theme that was known to him, Divine science. But a mere symbol she could never become: the Beatrice who had been the object of his first passion could never change into an abstraction. Infinitely touching is this worship of an entire lifetime, this youthful love, which, after a period of storm and passion, returns into the man's heart, and in his eyes is merged into everything that is most pure and most sacred, inspiring the last and greatest achievement of his

genius. It was always a spiritual, mystical passion, and now that the loved one dwells in Heaven, it has become even more transfigured; but still it always remains a genuine sentiment, it remains love. When she sees him threatened by the three beasts in the allegorical wood, she leaves her seat among the blessed, descends into Hell, and entreats Virgil with tears quickly to lend him his aid. The sight of her is promised him on the summit of the mountain, and it is this hope that draws him up on his weary way, that gives him new strength, when he is about to fail. When, in the last circle, he is to pass through the purifying fire, and is filled with fear, Virgil says to him: "Now look thou, son, 'twixt Beatrice and thee there is this wall," and immediately Dante's resistance is at an end, "hearing the name that in my memory evermore is welling"; and he willingly follows his guide, who encourages him even in the midst of the tormenting flames, by speaking of Beatrice:

"Her eyes I seem to see already."

Now at length she appears herself. The moment, so long prepared, is solemn in the highest degree. Dante is beneath the trees of the Earthly Paradise, on the banks of the river Lethe, and opposite to him, separated by the water, is the chariot with the griffin. On all sides the procession has halted, the seven candlesticks burning with heavenly light, the four and twenty Elders, clad in white and crowned with roses, the Evangelists, the seven virtues, dancing round the chariot wheels, and the angels scattering flowers. And she stands in her chariot, in the midst of her glory, robed in the colour of flame, as when he first saw her in his boyhood. She is still veiled, but by a secret power his heart has recognised her. On seeing her, of whom he had been so long deprived, all his old feelings are roused anew:

Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno
La parte oriental tutta rosata
E l'altro ciel di bel sereno adorno,
E la faccia del Sol nascere ombrata,
Sì che, per temperanza de' vapori,
L'occhio la sostenea lunga fiata:
Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,
Che dalle mani angelische saliva
E ricadeva giù dentro e di fuori,

Sovra candido vel cinta d'oliva
Donna m'apparve sotto verde manto
Vestita di color di fiamma viva.
E lo spirito mio, che già cotanto
Tempo era stato, ch' alla sua presenza
Non era di stupor tremando affranto,
Sanza dagli occhi aver più conoscenza,
Per occulta virtù, che da lei mosse,
D'antico amor sentì la gran potenza.[1]

He feels the old love; the sight of Beatrice kindles his heart and his imagination, which surrounds her appearance with the richest and most brilliant images. In the midst of the highest development of symbolism, the poetry again becomes personal. Dante is, as we have said, himself the most interesting figure, the true protagonist of the "Commedia." After the death of Beatrice he had erred and sinned in the life of excitement that followed. He, too, had a consciousness of guilt; he, too, had been in the wood of human misery. If, after so many storms that had swept over his soul, the recollection of his former pure love now returned, the recollection of that innocent and ideal existence of the "Vita Nuova," which knew naught of the harsh and corrupted reality of earth, then this recollection at the same time became a reproach. The image of Beatrice, that he now sees on the other bank of the river, is in his eyes a reproach. In this way we touch in this passage his own

[1] Ere now have I beheld, as day began,
The eastern hemisphere all tinged with rose,
And the other heaven with fair serene adorned;
And the sun's face, uprising, overshadowed
So that by tempering influence of vapours
For a long interval the eye sustained it;
Thus in the bosom of a cloud of flowers
Which from those hands angelical ascended,
And downward fell again inside and out,
Over her snow-white veil with olive cinct
Appeared a lady under a green mantle,
Vested in colour of the living flame.
And my own spirit, that already now
So long a time had been, that in her presence
Trembling with awe, it had not stood abashed,
Without more knowledge having by mine eyes,
Through occult virtue that from her proceeded
Of ancient love the mighty influence felt.
XXX. 22 *sqq.*

most intimate history. The deepest and truest idea of the "Purgatorio," the really dramatic idea of the *cantica*, is revealed here at the close. That which had hitherto been indicated by means of symbolism, and in an abstract manner, is now presented in its psychological realism—the smarts of conscience, the repentance, the process of purification in the soul, or rather in the living man: for the process takes place in Dante, who came thither in his body, who is no mere naked soul, but an individual, capable of feeling all that is felt on earth. He has been through all the circles, the angels have cancelled from his brow the signs of sin; he has passed through the torturing fire with terror and reluctance. But that is all as nothing. His true purgatory awaits him here on the summit, in the Earthly Paradise: it consists in the accusations of his beloved, in his shame, his grief, and his tears.

When the great event, the appearance of Beatrice, has taken place, and Dante experiences this deep emotion, he turns to the man who has hitherto accompanied him and sympathised with all his feelings. But Virgil has in the meantime disappeared, and Dante, though in the midst of the eternal beauties of Paradise, and though he has before his eyes that felicity, so ardently longed for, yet cannot restrain himself from bewailing the loss of his sweet father. Thereupon he hears the voice of his exalted lady on the chariot:

> Dante, because Virgilius has departed
> Do not weep yet, do not weep yet awhile;
> For by another sword thou need'st must weep.

And he, called by his name, this being the only time in the whole poem, raises his look and sees that the eyes of Beatrice are fixed on him, and she, severe, "in attitude still royally majestic," continues:

> Look at me well; in sooth, I'm Beatrice!
> How didst thou deign to come into the Mountain?
> Didst thou not know that man is happy here?

Then his eyes descend to the water that flows at his side; but when he sees himself mirrowed in it, his shame increases, and he lowers them to the grass at his feet. Beatrice is silent. The angels begin to sing, filled with pity

for him, and his grief, frozen and locked up in his heart, is loosed when he notes the sympathy in their voices, and resolves itself into tears. But she turns to the angels, accusing him, and telling the story of his erring ways. How, in his youth, his disposition was perfect by Divine grace, how she led him for a time along the right path, but how he turned away and gave himself up to the false goods of the earth, when she had scarcely left him to ascend from the beauty of earth to that of eternity, and when he should have endeavoured to follow her example; how dreams and inspirations were all in vain, and there remained no means of salvation save by showing him the terrors of Hell, and how she accomplished that for him, too, and hastened down to Limbo to do her good offices for him, and wept for him. Then she again addresses her words to him, and forces him to confess, and when he has uttered a scarcely audible "Yea," she endeavours still further to rouse his conscience, and asks him what was able to alienate him from her; and his reply is followed by fresh reproaches. He is dumb, his eyes bent on the ground, till, at her command, he raises his head, mastering himself with difficulty, and then he sees that the rain of flowers, which had hitherto half concealed her, has ceased. And she stands there, her eyes directed towards the griffin, and, though still shrouded and far off, her beauty appears to him greater than that she possessed on earth, in the same proportion as it was formerly superior to that of all other women. When he sees this, his repentance for his ingratitude becomes yet more keen, and he sinks down unconscious. On recovering, he finds himself in the waters of Lethe, which free the soul from all remembrance of guilt, and thereupon he is led before Beatrice, who at last unveils herself in all her heavenly, ineffable beauty:

O isplendor di viva luce eterna,
Chi pallido si fece sotto l'ombra
Sì di Parnaso o bevve in sua cisterna,
Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra
Tentando a render te, qual tu paresti
Là dove armonizzando il ciel t'adombra,
Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti.[1]

---

[1] O splendour of the living light eternal!
Who underneath the shadow of Parnassus

Here the mystic love of the Middle Ages has attained its loftiest poetic expression, which cannot be surpassed. This love does not end with the death of the beloved, but really does not begin till she "changes life," till she has ascended from flesh to spirit, and has increased in beauty and perfection, till she draws her lover from the false things of earth, "after her herself, that is no longer such." Love is virtue and religion; to desert virtue and religion means leaving the loved one, each false step is an act of infidelity towards Beatrice. If we were to conceive anyone else reproaching Dante in this manner, the result would be a dry moralisation, a sermon; but it is the loved one that makes the reproaches, that condemns his sins as a treachery against his passion for her, and we have a highly dramatic scene. It is the apotheosis of his mistress, inspired not by reason, but by the heart. She is not yet a goddess, cold and unfeeling in her glory; she is a woman, full of solicitude for the salvation of her lover, and the very violence of her reproaches is inspired by her passion. Here we have still the true, the personal Beatrice, no longer in Paradise, although it is there that the poet thought he had attained a higher degree of art. The first aspect, indeed, is as fine a conception as poetry can supply. Beatrice, her eyes glowing with a holy smile, looks steadfastly at the heavens, and, soaring upwards, leaves the tiny earth behind. Rising in the infinite space, she ascends higher and higher, towards the light, towards the Deity. And as the lover looks at her, he feels himself drawn after her by some secret power; he, too, ascends, and they fly together from heaven to heaven. But there are conceptions for which our imagination requires freedom. The infinite does not make an impression on us, save when it is indicated in a general way. It cannot be described: every detail raises up a barrier and destroys the feeling of the infinite itself. Thus it is with this flight through the heavens: magnificent as a piece of imagination,

> Hath grown so pale, or drunk so at its cistern,
> He would not seem to have his mind encumbered,
> Striving to paint thee as thou didst appear,
> Where the harmonious heaven o'ershadowed thee,
> When in the open air thou didst unveil?
>
> XXXI. 139 *sqq.*

it loses all its effect in the representation. It is the constant repetition of the same motion, for a gradation is impossible. This Beatrice began in so sublime a way, that we can conceive nothing more lofty. Ever more she glows with divine love, radiates with increasing brightness into the eyes of the lover. But when the poet desires to give us an idea of this superhuman splendour, he must needs employ abstractions, a kind of mathematical proof, and then always end with the confession that such things transcend human capacity, and cannot be expressed in human speech. And when we hear this Beatrice of the "Paradiso" speak, when she explains to Dante the nature of the lunar spots, or the inclination of all that is created towards its principle in God, we might in truth be listening to some scholastic doctor, leading us carefully from conclusion to conclusion. Here she really represents Theology rather than the loved one, the symbol rather than the person.

And what we have said of Beatrice may be extended to the "Paradiso" in general. Paradise is the region of spirit freed entirely from matter, and this wholly spiritual life is expressed by the purest light, by the sweetest harmony, by the swiftest and noblest, that is to say, circular motion. The source of the motion is the love of and desire for the highest good, and the nearer one approaches this principle, God, the more glowing is the love, the more vivid the light, the swifter the movement. Thus it is with the nine heavenly spheres; thus, too, with the souls Dante meets here. They have no longer any body, not even the ethereal body of the "Purgatorio." They are no longer recognisable beings, but must themselves explain who they were. They are lights that are distinguished from one another by their clearness and strength. The more grace, the more perception; the more perception, the more love; the more love, the stronger the light, the sweeter the singing, the swifter the movement. The most powerful light is in the Empyrean itself; and it is only there that the souls appear in their true human aspect, transfigured to heavenly beauty, clad in white garments, and forming, in the graduating ranks of their seats, an enormous rose, which, in its centre, incloses a sea of light reflected from the light of God. And on to the leaves of the mystic rose the angels descend from God

like butterflies, and return to him again; and as they fly up and down, they are the bearers of peace and love.

But how is this immaterial realm to be depicted in art? For the scenes of Hell the earth gave its rough and vigorous images, while its tenderest and loveliest were suitable for Purgatory. Paradise, on the other hand, has nothing below resembling it; the most beautiful, pure, and splendid things are naught as compared with the glory above. Each image for Paradise is a diminution, by substituting the finite for the infinite, the limited for the illimitable. Where are the means for representing that which transcends nature and perception, nay, even thought? If one wishes to paint it all, we have nothing but the colours of the earth; for the human imagination possesses these alone, and even the greatest artist does not create out of nothing. Dante wishes to depict the heaven of purest light, and can only give us the conception of our sunlight, a mere shadow compared with the other. He wishes to describe the heavenly melodies, and is forced to remind us of sounds heard on earth. What, then, is the use of the comparatives and superlatives, of the assurance that that light of Paradise was a thousand times more brilliant, that melody a thousand times more sweet? For these superlative degrees remain invisible to our imagination. The means of art are of the earth, and where these are no longer adequate, art itself ceases. In the supreme efforts of his genius, Dante succeeds in creating some splendid images. Beautiful is the mystic rose, reflecting itself in the sea of light, while angelic butterflies float up and down; beautiful, the descending triumph of the blessed, compared with a ray of the sun, that falls, through broken clouds, on to a meadow of flowers (xxiii. 79); beautiful, too, the stream of light between flowery banks, and the sparks, which, issuing from the river, settle on the flowers and return as though inebriate (xxx. 61), this, like the rose, signifying the blessed receiving the grace of God. But here the entire beauty is limited to the image taken by itself, and without regard for that which it is intended to depict. Each is a splendid image, but ineffective for its real purpose.

The personality of the saint is difficult to employ in poetry. In the sinner and penitent there is life, action, and

development. On the other hand, the saints have already reached their goal, and are unchangeable in their present condition; their perfection is uniform, their passion one, and that invariable—the love of God. The only thing they are still able to do is to impart some of their perfection to others, to instruct them and show them the right way, and that is what they do with Dante when he encounters them. In this way the "Paradiso" is filled, to a far greater extent than the two other *cantiche*, with scientific disquisitions. Not only Beatrice, but S. Bernard and Charles Martel, too, become instructors; the apostles Peter, James, and John subject Dante to a terrible examination, which occupies almost three entire cantos, on the three theological virtues.

The less the true subject-matter of the "Paradiso" admits of direct expression, the more does the poet seek the aid of symbolism, by means of which it is indicated through outward signs. This also accounts for the curious architectural allegorical figures, over which Dante takes such pains in this *cantica*. In the Sun the souls of the holy monks form revolving garlands; in Mars the warriors arrange themselves into the sign of the Cross; in Jupiter the souls of the just appear first as letters joined together, constituting Latin words, and then as the Imperial Eagle. The "Paradiso" is a continual struggle with that which cannot be expressed. The sentiment, indeed, remains, marked by that poetical element which was contained in the religious poetry before Dante. The general inspiration is lyrical, producing the hymn, as, for example, the glorious prayer addressed by S. Bernard to the Virgin in the last canto; still it does not suffice for the creation of concrete forms.

Even here, however, everything is not spiritual and abstract. There is always, in the midst of so many blessed spirits, one human personality, Dante himself. The saints have no earthly existence, but Dante has, and never in the whole poem are there more vivid echoes of it, with its varying fortunes, than here, in the prophecy of his ancestor Cacciaguida, whose soul he meets in Mars. The saints, elevated to such lofty heights, can scarcely take the events and condition of our miserable earth much to heart; but Dante is keenly interested in these matters, and makes them share his feelings. He makes Cacciaguida speak of

the good old times in bygone Florence, and with these he contrasts the present sinful and divided city. Dante never forgets in Paradise whence he has come (xxxi. 39):

> I who to the divine had from the human,
> From time unto eternity, had come,
> From Florence to a people just and sane.

He compares the place from which he comes with that in which he is, and notes the contrast between that world of sin and injustice, and this world of love and peace. This gives rise to the bitterest reproaches against the corruption on earth. The saints kindle with wrath and passion; they do not hesitate to employ harsh and lowly words, in order to lash more effectively this state of depravity. In the same way as Cacciaguida inveighs against the Florentines, so S. Peter Damian reproves the pompous living of the priests, Benedict the vices of the monks, the Imperial Eagle in Jupiter the avaricious Popes and princes, Beatrice herself false preachers. The apostle Peter fulminates in the most terrible way against the Holy See, and in the very centre of the mystic rose, in sight of eternal peace, Dante recalls the struggle of the parties, of Henry VII. and his opponent, Clement V., and ungrateful Florence, that has banished him. The most solemn of these invectives is that of S. Peter, whose countenance glows, when he begins to speak of Boniface:

> Quegli ch' usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
> Il luogo mio, il luogo mio, che vaca
> Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,[1]

and the flame of his wrath kindles the entire heaven of the blessed, even Beatrice herself, and he continues with altered voice.

The saints, who behold in God the entire truth unveiled, moralise with more authority. For this reason the invectives are more numerous here, in the realm of peace, than elsewhere. Regarded from the Christian standpoint, they are, perhaps, not always appropriate: they are so violent, and

[1] He who usurps upon the earth my place,
My place, my place, which vacant has become
Before the presence of the Son of God.
XXVII. 22.

it may be doubted whether they are entirely impartial. But by reason of their very warmth they are full of poetry, and if they were lacking, the "Paradiso" would be without its most poetical element. Dante himself was not the most perfect of men, judged according to Christian morality: he was no saint, and did not know how to humble himself. But his was a lofty spirit, hating everything that was low and vile. His faults were such as spring up in a great and mighty soul. Thus his satires and invectives are due to his deep conviction that he is in possession of the truth. In his book on the vulgar speech he called himself the poet of *rectitudo:* he had conceived the poet's calling to be a holy mission, an apostleship. In the other world he is expressly commissioned to write down what he sees and hears, "for that world's good which liveth ill" ("Purg." xxxii. 103), and for this sacred office is needed courage and a heart that is sure of itself. To tell the world such terrible truths, without regard for famous names and great power, without regard for friend or foe, was not the task of an ordinary soul.

Never has there been a poetical work that was written in a loftier sense or with a loftier aim, never one that was the fruit of more incessant and more earnest toil, that expressed more intimately the entire individuality of the author. We stand in reverence before such an achievement. Here everything is of significance. If the æsthetic interest is not always on the same level, every detail, however minute, possesses historical interest: a mind like Dante's must be grasped in its entirety. That is why the labour of scholars is necessary, in order to explain the innumerable allusions to contemporary matters, the scientific doctrines, and, as far as possible, the hidden meaning of the allegories. But, in addition to this, the "Commedia" requires, more than other poems, the aid of an æsthetic commentary, such as the brilliant one Francesco de Sanctis has given us. Dante's poetry does not sweep along like a broad stream on whose bosom we may allow ourselves to be gently carried onwards; but, in its concentrated energy, it strikes our minds like a flash of lightning, and disappears immediately, if it has not already kindled our imagination, and left in it the indelible traces of its creations.

Dante's fame, great even at the time of his death, soon increased enormously. Giovanni Villani dedicates a long chapter in his chronicle to him, when treating of the year of his death. As early as in the third decade of the century the commentaries to the poem begin to appear, the first being those of Graziolo de' Bambagioli and of Jacopo della Lana. In 1373 Boccaccio was appointed public Dante interpreter by the commune of Florence. Others subsequently followed him in the same office, and the poem was expounded in the churches of San Stefano and of Santa Maria del Fiore; Dante chairs were also founded in other Italian towns, in Bologna, Pisa, Piacenza, Milan, and Venice. From an early date artists drew their subjects from the "Commedia," as, for example, Bernardo Orcagna in his painting in the Cappella Strozzi of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, where the *Malebolge* of the "Inferno" are faithfully depicted according to Dante's description.

Italian literature, the development of which differs in so many respects from the other modern literatures, has also this peculiarity, that, almost at its outset, it produced a work of such capital importance, and attained a height it was never to reach again, so that whatever followed may be said, in a measure, to refer back to this work. The whole of Italian literature is full of Dante; there is scarcely a single writer of importance who would not, in one way or another, lead us back to speak of Dante.

APPENDIX OF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

AUTHOR'S NOTE TO THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION (1887)

THE German original of this book was published in September of the year 1884, though the title-page bears the date 1885, in accordance with a reprehensible custom prevailing among German publishers. It will be well for the Italian reader to note this, so that he may be able to judge of the priority of some observations which occur in the German edition and subsequently appeared in other books as well. It is almost superfluous to say that this appendix does not pretend to be a complete bibliography, which would, indeed, have been impossible in this place, for so wide a field; but the notes are intended to show the reader the road followed by the author.[1] In many cases only the latest publication is quoted for a certain subject, and there fuller bibliographical information will be found. For the same reason I do not even enumerate the general histories of Italian literature prior to this one. Only it appears convenient to me once and for all to make honourable mention in this place of the works of Adolfo Bartoli, since I shall not have another opportunity of speaking of them collectively. By his "Primi due secoli della letteratura italiana" (completed in 1880), and his "Storia della letteratura italiana," of which six volumes appeared between 1878 and 1884 * and two further ones, on the "Commedia," in 1887 and 1889 *, Bartoli achieved the great distinction of having treated these subjects for the first time in a really scientific manner. It is natural that these works, just because they were the first of their kind and that they dealt with so vast and difficult a theme, could not be free from defects. But they have been very useful to students, and were very useful to me, too. This I freely and gratefully acknowledge, though I may several times have to differ from the author in his views on single points.

[1] In view of these statements and of the fact that any attempt at supplementary notes of a critical or controversial nature would be entirely out of place, the additions to the bibliography have, in the main, been limited to the titles of new editions, of biographical works, and of general literary surveys. The author placed the names of those works which were inaccessible to him in square brackets; these have been retained, while the translator's supplementary notes are inserted between asterisks. —*Translator's Note.*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES

Page 4 *sqq.* For the studies pursued in the Middle Ages and the Latin Literature in Italy at this period, cf. Muratori, "Antiq. Ital.," iii. 807 *sqq.*; Tiraboschi, "Storia della lett. ital." (Firenze, 1805-1813), vols. iii., iv.; Giesebrecht, "De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii ævi sæculis," Berolini, 1845; Comparetti, "Virgilio nel medio evo," vol. i., Livorno, 1872, * second edition, Firenze, 1896; "Vergil in the Middle Ages," translated by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895 *. Koerting, in his "Die Anfänge der Renaissancelitteratur in Italien," Leipzig, 1884, does not touch this subject; what is said on page 300 in justification of this omission appears to me a poor excuse. [Gius. Savioli, "L'istruzione pubblica in Italia nei secoli VIII., IX., X.," in the "Rivista Europea," nuova serie, anno X., t. xiii., xiv.] * G. Gröber, "Uebersicht über die lateinische Litteratur, von der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1350," in his "Grundriss der roman. Philologie," II. i. pp. 97-432, Strassburg, 1893. *—E. Celesia's "Storia della letteratura in Italia nei secoli barbari," in 2 vols., Genova, 1882, is quite useless.

Page 2, 14 *sqq.* The sketch of the development of the communes and of the political condition of medieval Italy in general is, as will easily be seen, based on C. Hegel, "Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien," 2 vols., Leipzig, 1847.

Page 22. For the literature of Monte Cassino, cf. Petrus Diaconus, "De viris illustribus casinensibus," ed. B. Mari, Lutetiæ Paris, 1666 (also Muratori, "Script.," vi. 9), cap. 19 *sqq.*—For the Abbot Desiderius, cf. Don Andrea Caravita, "I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino," especially i. 180 *sqq.*, Monte Cassino, 1869 and 1870. A large number of Alfanus' poems in Ughelli, "Italia sacra" (Venetiis, 1722), t. x., Appendix, pp. 47-78, and in Giesebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 37 *sqq.*, where also his classical imitations are to be found. A poem by Gaiferius in Tosti, "Storia della Badia di Monte-Cassino," i. 414 *sqq.*, Napoli, 1842. Poems by both in Ozanam, "Documents inédits pour servir à l'hist. litt. de l'Italie," p. 259 *sqq.*, Paris, 1850.—Amatus, published by Champollion-Figeac, "L'ystoire de li Normant par Aimé, moine

de Mont-Cassin," Paris, 1835. For Alberic, cf. Rockinger, "Sitzungsber. der bayer. Akad. d. W." of the year 1861, vol. i. 126; the two writings of Alberic mentioned first were published by Rockinger in "Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte," vol. ix., München, 1863. The "Dictaminum Radii" are not yet printed; there is a MS. containing them in the Breslau University Library, IV. Oct. 11.

Page 30. "Sancti Petri Damiani Opera Omnia," Bassani, 1783. Joseph Kleinermann's "Der heil. Petrus Damiani," Steyl, 1882.

Page 34. "Anselmi Opera," in Migne, "Patrologia," ser. lat., t. 158, 159. Ch. de Rémusat, "Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry," Paris, 1853.

Page 36. For the grammarians, epistolaries and books of formulas, cf. the two works of Rockinger quoted above, and T. Casini, "La coltura bolognese dei secoli XII e XIII," in the "Giornale storico della lett. ital." anno i., vol. i., p. 5 *sqq.*

Page 38. Ugo Balzani, "Early Chroniclers of Europe, Italy," London, 1883 [subsequently published also in Italian: "Le cronache italiane nel medio evo," Milano, 1884], is very inadequate, just for this period.

Page 39. [Sanzanome's work is printed also in the "Documenti di storia italiana" of the "Deputazione toscana di storia patria," Firenze, 1876.]

Page 40. What is the origin of Boncompagno's phrase designating Italy as *Domina provinciarum*, a phrase recurring not only in Dante, but also in Bono Giamboni, "Introd. alle virtù," cap. 47? In the "Corpus Juris," where one might feel inclined to look for it, in view of Boncompagno's mode of expressing himself, it does not occur, as a distinguished jurist tells me. It is based on the circumstance that, in the Roman Empire, Italy was not a province, nor subject to tribute. At a later date Lor. Valla said in the "De Constantini donatione" (near the beginning): "Donaret præterea una cum Roma *Italiam*, *non provinciam sed provinciarum victricem*."

Page 41. [The historical poem on Barbarossa, which was recently discovered by Monaci in a Vatican MS. and which is said to be printed in the "Archivio della società romana di storie patria." vol. i., remained inaccessible to me.] For a conjecture made concerning the author (Taddeo di Roma) by R. Wenck, cf. "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde," vol. ix. 202, and x. 170

P. 41. The poem of Henricus Septimellensis is printed in Leyser, "Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi," Halæ Magdeb., 1721, p. 453 *sqq.*, and "Henrici Septimellensis alias Sammariensis Elegia de diversitate fortunæ ex mss. Mediceo et altero cl. et illustr. viri A. Magliabechii," no place or date;

here the poem is followed by a "Tractatus de septem virtutibus." [Also published with an Italian translation by Manni, Firenze, 1730; and "Arrighetto, ovvero trattato contro all' avversità, ecc. con testo latino," Milano, 1832.] For the author, cf. Tiraboschi, iv. 429 *sqq.*; C. Milanesi, "Il Boezio e l'Arrighetto," p. lviii *sqq.*, and p. cxiii *sq.*, Firenze, 1864; K. Francke, "Zur Geschichte der latein. Schulpoesie des 12. u. 13. Jahrh.," p. 43, München, 1879.

Page 43. The passage of Boncompagno against the grammarians of Orleans is at the beginning of the "Liber decem tabularum," and is published by Delisle, "Annuaire-Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France," 1869, p. 152.

Page 44. On the character of Latin poetry in the Middle Ages, see the excellent observations in Comparetti, "Virgilio," i. 215 *sqq.*; also Pannenborg, *l.c.*, pp. 191-238, and Kuno Francke, *l.c.*

Page 45. The whole of Morandus' poem is now published by Fr. Novati, "Carmina medii ævi," p. 69, Firenze, Libreria Dante, 1883. The satire attributed to Pier della Vigna was last published by Huillard-Bréholles, "Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne," p. 402 *sqq.*, Paris, 1865. The poems on the victory at Parma after the defeat of Frederick II. were last published in "Mon. Germ. Script." t. xviii. For two rhythmical pieces by Riccardo da S. Germano in his chronicle, cf. Muratori, "Script." vii. 970 and 993. Others are quoted by Giesebrecht, "Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder," in "Allgem. Monatsschrift für Wissensch. und Lit." of the year 1853, p. 41. Of course, there was a number of rhythmical poems in Italy before this time, but they are of a different character. It should be noted that the well-known piece, "Viri venerabiles, viri litterati," which appears in Wright, "Walter Mapes," p. 31, as "Prædicatio Goliæ," also occurs at the end of the "Pantheon," as the work of Godfrey of Viterbo, "Mon. Germ. Script.," xxii. p. 305.—That the Italians took little or no part in the Goliardic poetry was the opinion of Giesebrecht, *l.c.* This theory having been opposed by Burckhardt and Bartoli, it was very well defended by Alfredo Straccali: "I Goliardi ovvero I Clerici vagantes delle università medioevali," Firenze, 1880; but the reasoning by which he accounts for the absence of this poetry appears to me to be false. Novati, *l.c.*, p. 9, considers the opinion of Giesebrecht and Straccali to be immature, till the libraries have been explored. But the collection of Goliardic poems which he gives himself is very small, contains no pieces of importance (none that are older than the thirteenth century), and of the majority it cannot even be said whether they are of Italian origin. * A. Gabrielli, "Su la poesia dei Goliardi," Città di Castello, 1889. *

Page 46. On the earliest traces of Italian, see the small but instructive treatise of L. Morandi, "Origine della lingua italiana," p. 51 *sqq.*, Città di Castello, 1883. Andrea Gloria, "Del volgare illustre dal secolo vii. sino a Dante," Venezia, 1880, composed imaginary pieces with vulgar words taken from Latin documents, in order to show how rich these were in elements of the kind; his idea that a "volgare illustre" can be distinguished for those early times appears to me to be erroneous. A more recent work of Gloria's, "Volgare illustre nel 1100 e Proverbi volgari del 1200," Venezia, 1885, gives alphabetical lists of vulgar words from Latin documents; here again the proof for the existence of a "volgare illustre" appears to me to be inadequate. The Sardinian documents of the twelfth century in Muratori, "De origine linguæ ital." ("Antiq. Ital.," ii. 1051, 1053, 1059); in Pasq. Tola, "Codex diplomaticus Sardiniæ," i. 149, etc. ("Historiæ patriæ monumenta," t. x., Augustæ Taurin., 1861); and Stengel in "Rivista di filologia romanza," i. 52 (cf. *ib.* 123). For the earliest inscriptions, which are for the most part spurious or doubtful, cf. Baudi di Vesme, "Propugnatore," v. 1°, p. 5 *sqq.*, and Di Giovanni, "Dell' uso del volgare in Sardegna ed in Sicilia nei secoli xii. e xiii.," Palermo, 1866 (reprinted in "Filologia e letteratura," Palermo, 1871). That the two Sicilian documents which were supposed to belong to the twelfth century, belong in point of fact to the sixteenth, was shown by Böhmer, "Roman. Studien," iii. 159 *sqq.* For the epitaph in the church of S. Giovanni Battista at Erice, the year 1000 was a forgery for 1606, as was pointed out by Antonio Salinas, "Giornale storico della lett. ital." i. 508 *sq.* The inscription in four rhyming verses, formerly in the Duomo of Ferrara, which was said to be of the year 1135, and concerning whose age Tiraboschi had considerable doubts, is now held to be authentic by Monaci; cf. Morandi, *l.c.*, p. 63, where are also printed the four verses on a victory of the inhabitants of Belluno, composed in their dialect, which belong to the year 1196, but have come down to us only in a work published in 1607. * For the earliest monuments, cf. Monaci, "Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli," Città di Castello, 1889, etc. *

Page 46 *sqq.* For the "Carte di Arborea" cf. the opinion of the Berlin Academy of Sciences in the "Monatsberichte," p. 64 *sqq.*, 1870; Girolamo Vitelli, "Delle carte d'Arborea e delle poesie in esse contenute," in the "Propugnatore," iii. 1°, 255 *sqq.*, and 2°, 436 *sqq.*; also Bartoli, "Storia della lett. ital.," ii. 389 *sqq.* With Vitelli's work the subject was really exhausted.—For the "Ritmo cassinese," cf. D'Ancona, "Propugnatore," vii. 2°, 394 *sqq.*, I. Giorgi and G. Navone in the "Riv. di fil. rom.," ii. 91, and Böhmer, "Rom. Stud.," iii. 143 *sqq.*—(an attempt at

reconstructing the text, at times arbitrary). Monaci wishes to place it again in the twelfth century, cf. Morandi, *l.c.*, p. 65 ; his reasons have yet to be given.—Now that the text of my work has been printed, I receive the important work of Fr. Novati, "Il Ritmo cassinese e le sue interpretazioni," in "Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica, in memoria di N. Caix e U. A. Canello," p. 375 *sqq.*, Firenze, 1886. Here it is proved very plainly that the interpretations of the "Ritmo" hitherto attempted are impossible, and a very acute conjecture is made as to its true meaning, which fits in with the words, so far as it is possible to understand them. Novati thinks that the end of the work is missing, and that the narrative of the man from the East and of the man from the West is allegorical, the former being the symbol of celestial, and the latter that of earthly life, so that we have the ordinary doctrine of asceticism—contempt of the world for the attainment of Paradise.—An Italian poem, singular in character and composed, so it is said, as early as in the twelfth century, is contained in a MS. of the Laurenziana (Plut. xv. cod. v.) and was therefore called the "Ritmo laurenziano." It is the panegyric of a bishop, in sets of verses of seven syllables with a single rhyme, and is for the greater part unintelligible. It was published by Bandini in his catalogue of the MSS. Laurenz., iv. 468 *sqq.*, and recently, in facsimile, in Monaci's "Archivio Paleografico," vol. i., fasc. 2°, No. 17, with a note by Novati, who promised to treat the subject more fully. * F. Novati, "Studi critici," Torino, 1889. E. Monaci, "Sull' antich. cantilena giullaresca," etc., Roma, 1892. *—For Messer Folcacchieri, cf. Curzio Mazzi, "Folcacchiero Folcacchieri rimatore senese del sec. xiii., per nozze Banchi-Brini," Firenze, 1878, and A. Borgognoni, "Studi d'erudizione e d'arte," ii. 209-216, Bologna, 1878.

Page 48. In certain annalistic notices on Florence in a Vatican MS. of the twelfth century, under the year 1147, the copyist has added some verses. The last of these appears to be Italian : "Male de oculis famuli maris." For these cf. Hartwig, "Quell. und Forsch.," ii. p. 4, Halle, 1880, and now in heliotype in Monaci's "Archivio paleografico italiano," fasc. i., tav. 7, Roma, 1882. The question arose as to whether it was a popular song. Lamis's conjecture, repeated by Hartwig, that it contained traces of a composition subsequently quoted by Boccaccio, appears to me to be without foundation. R. Kade, "Ein Augensegen," in the "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Geschichtskunde," vol. x., p. 186 *sqq.*, 1885, found these words again at the end of a form of blessing for diseases of the eyes, and in this case they are obviously Latin : "Non ambulemus, sed doleamus maculam famuli dei." The corruption in the Vatican MS., which shows the influence of the Italian, is re-

markable, but I do not on that account believe that the copyist had in mind the popular poem quoted by Boccaccio, as Kade supposes.

Page 51. Gius. Cerrato, "Il bel cavaliere di Rambaldo di Vaqueiras," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iv. 80 *sqq.*, tried to show that Beatrice was not the sister of the Marchese Bonifacio, as the Provençal biography declares, but his daughter. Giosuè Carducci accepted this opinion, in his essay, "Galanterie cavalleresche del secolo xii. e xiii." ("Nuova Antologia," 1°. gennaio, 1885, p. 5 *sqq.* Still, the matter remains doubtful, cf. P. Meyer in "Romania," xiv. 614.—That Emilia da Ravenna was the wife of Pietro Traversari (Imilia dei conti Guidi) was held by Casini, "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 400, and "Propugnatore," xviii. 1°, p. 150, *note* 2. O. Schultz, "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.," ix. 117, *note* 3, says that though, it is true, the identity cannot be proved, it is nevertheless very probable; the troubadours certainly spoke of a lady of exalted position, and Pietro Traversari was lord of Ravenna.

Page 52. Note that Peire Vidal calls the kingdom which he requests Richard Cœur-de-Lion to conquer that of Palermo and Risa—namely, Reggio; instead of the *Frisa* in Bartsch, we must read *Risa*, the usual name in the old poems of chivalry for Reggio in Calabria.—For Peire de la Cavarana or Caravana, cf. Canello, "Giorn. di fil. rom.," iii. 2, 1 *sqq.*, and O. Schultz, in the "Zeitschf. für rom. Phil.," vii. 182 *sqq.*; also Casini, "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 396 *sq.*—That the poem of Uc de S. Circ was composed in 1240, during the siege of Faenza by Frederick II., was well shown by N. Zingarelli, "Un serventese di Ugo di Sain Circ" (in the "Miscellanea Caix-Canello," p. 243 *sqq.*). He gave a critical text of the poem and identified the greater part of the persons named in it; cf. also T. Casini in the "Propugnatore," xviii. 1°, p. 176 *sqq.* Ser Ugolino might also be the poet Ugolino Buzzuola, who belonged to the family of the Alberghetti, one of great authority in Faenza, and was called *præcipuus* of that family by Salimbene in 1250.

Page 53. Giosuè Carducci conjectured ("Nuova Antologia," January 10th, 1885, p. 7) that Rambaldo's dialogue with the Genoese lady was an imitation of a poetic *genre* general in Italy even at that early time, seeing that such dialogues between a man and a lady, the latter hesitating and the former pressing, were at that period frequent with the Italians, and rare in Provence.

Page 53. That the love tenzone "Dona a vos me comen" has to be attributed to Alberto Malaspina, as is done by Raynouard, and not to Albert de Sestaro (Bartsch's view), appears from the fact that the lady at the end calls her interlocutor *marchese.*

Page 54. The connection of Blacatz' *planh* with "Purg." vii. 88 *sqq.* was pointed out by Monaci, "Riv. di fil. rom." i. 198 *note*. On the Italians, in general, who composed poetry in Provençal, we have now the excellent treatise of O. Schultz, "Die Lebensverhältnisse der ital. Trobadors," in the "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 177 *sqq.*, and also *ib.* ix. 117 *note*, and 406 *sqq.* Cf. also Casini, in the "Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.," ii. 399 *sqq.* Of one of the poets we have a critical edition, "Der Troubadour Bertolome Zorzi," edited by E. Levy, Halle, 1883. The editions of Casini, "Le rime provenzali di Rambertino Buvalelli," Firenze, 1855, and "I trovatori nella Marca Trivigiana" in the "Propugnatore," xviii. 1°, p. 149 *sqq.*, are very defective. * P. G. Palazzi, "Le Poesie inedite di Sordello," in the "Atti del reale Istituto Veneto di scienze," etc., 1885, tomo v., serie 6, pp. 1451-1509; C. Merkel, "Sordello e la sua dimora presso Carlo I. d'Angiò," Torino, 1890; Cesare de Lollis, "Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito," Halle, 1896; the same, "Pro Sordello de Godio, milite," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," 1897, xxx. 125.— M. Pelaez, "Bonifazio Calvo," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xxviii. 1 *sqq.*, and xxix. 318 *sqq.* (life, poems, etc.). *

Page 55. It is true, however, that Levy distinguished certain Italian idiocisms in Zorzi; others were found by Chabaneau, "Revue des langues rom.," 3e s., vol. ii., p. 196. The subjunctives of the first conjugation in *a* are common also to the Venetian and Paduan dialects.

Page 56. The MSS. give the collection of the so-called letters of Pier della Vigna in numbers and in an order that vary considerably. Cf. Huillard-Bréholles, "Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne," p. 249 *sqq.*, Paris, 1865. I used the edition of Schardius, "Epistolarum Petri de Vineis libri VI.," Basilea, 1566, which, like all the old editions, gives only the one form of the collection. Many of the most interesting letters were published from the MSS. by Huillard-Bréholles, *l.c.*, p. 289.

Page 57. For the court of Frederick II., cf. Huillard-Bréholles, in the book just quoted, and "Hist. Dipl. Frid. II.," vol. i., p. clxxvii. *sqq.*, cxciv., etc., Paris, 1839. For the translations from the Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew made under Frederick II., his predecessors and successors, cf. now especially O. Hartwig, "Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-staufischen Epoche," in the "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," March, 1886.

Pages 58 *sqq.* For the earliest Italian text, cf. A Bartoli, "I primi due secoli della letteratura italiana," Milano, 1880 (published since 1871 in parts); the same, "Storia della letteratura italiana," vol. ii., Firenze, 1879. A. Gaspary, "Die Sicilianische Dichterschule des 13. Jahrh.," Berlin, 1878; in the Italian version, "La scuola poetica siciliana del secolo xiii.,"

translated by S. Friedmann, Livorno, 1882. Collections of the poems: "Poeti del primo seoolo della lingua italiana" (ed. by Valeriani and Lampredi), 2 vols., Firenze, 1816. "Raccolta di rime antiche toscane" (ed. by the Marchese Villarosa), 4 vols., Palermo, 1817. Trucchi, "Poesie italiane inedite," 4 vols., Prato, 1846. Nannucci, "Manuale della letteratura del primo secolo," 2ª ed., Firenze, 1856 [3ª ed., *ib.* 1878]. D'Ancona e Comparetti, "Le antiche rime volgari secondo la lezione del cod. vat. 3793," vol. i., Bologna, 1875; ii. *ib.* 1881, iii. 1884; iv. 1886; * v., con aggiunta di annotazioni critiche del prof. T. Casini, 1888. * The MS. Chigi, published by Monaci and Molteni: "Il canzoniere Chigiano, L. viii. 305," Bologna, 1877. The publication of the Cod. Palatino 418, begun by Bartoli and Casini in the "Propugnatore," xiv., continued in xvii. and xviii. The publication of the Cod. Laurenziano, 9. 63, begun by Casini, "Testi inediti di antiche rime volgari," vol. i., Bologna, 1883. * Monaci, "Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli con prospetto delle flessioni grammaticali e glossario," per Ernesto Monaci, Città di Castello, fasc. primo, 1889, fasc. secondo, 1897. The "Manuali" of F. Torraca (2nd ed., Firenze, 1886-87), of T. Casini, (2nd ed., Firenze, 1891), and of D'Ancona and Bacci (Firenze, 1892-94). R. Fornaciari, "La letteratura italiana nei primi quattro secoli" (xiii.-xvi.), Firenze, 1885.—A. Zenatti, "Arrigo Testa e i primordi della lirica italiana," Lucca, 1889. E. Monaci, "Di una recente dissertazione su Arrigo Testa," Roma, 1889. L. Goldschmidt, "Die Doktrin der Liebe bei den italiänischen Lyrikern des 13. Jahrhunderts," Breslau, 1889. G. A. Cesareo, "La poesia siciliana sotto gli Svevi," Catania, 1894. G. A. Cesareo, "Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia," 1899.—L. Biadene, "Indice delle canzoni italiani del secolo xiii.," Asolo, 1896.—L. Frati, "Ranieri da Palermo," in the "Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.," xi. 125. F. Torraca, "Il notaro Giacomo da Lentini," in the "Nuova Antologia," Oct. 1, 1894. F. Scandone, "Appunti biografici sui due rimatori della scuola siciliana Rinaldo e Jacopo di casa d'Aquino," Napoli, 1897. *—For other bibliographical matter see the books quoted in d'Ancona, Bartoli and Gaspary, and for the bibliography of the entire early period, cf. Fr. Zambrini, "Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli xiii. e xiv.," 4th edition, Bologna, 1878 [appeared again as "fourth edition," with an appendix, Bologna, 1884].

Page 58. E. Monaci, "Sui primordi della scuola poetica siciliana" ("Nuova Antologia," August 15th, 1884), tried to show that the court poetry in the vulgar tongue must have been cultivated in Bologna earlier than in Sicily. It appears to me, however, that there is not sufficient proof in favour of this hypothesis; cf. "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," p. 442 *sqq.*, 1884.

Page 63. That lyrical poetry was always destined for music is

well known. Of this relation to music Dante speaks in the "De Vulg. El." In the Cod. Vat. 3214, the poem of Lemmo Orlandi, "Lontana dimoranza" (No. 139) has the note, "Et Casella diede il suono"—this being the famous composer celebrated by Dante in the "Purgatorio." In the same MS. a poem by Lapo degli Uberti, "Gentil mia donna, la virtù d'amore" (No. 148) is marked: "E Mino d'Arezzo diede la nota;" this composer is known through Boccaccio, "Decam.," x. 7. In. "Purg." ii. 112, Casella sings Dante's philosophico-allegorical canzone, "Amor che nella mente mi ragiona." In the fourteenth century composers are often mentioned by name. At how late a period Petrarch's sonnet "Pace non trovo," for example, was still sung, is proved by the fact that a fifteenth century *lauda* designates it as its melody; cf. D'Ancona, "La poesia popolare italiana," p. 435, Livorno, 1878.

Page 64. It appeared to Diez, "Altromanische Sprachdenkmale," p. 100, Bonn, 1846, that the Italian verse of eleven syllables was historically related to the Provençal verse of ten syllables, in spite of the differences between them. Rajna, "Le origini dell' epopea francese," p. 515 *sqq.*, Firenze, 1884, thinks that it certainly has its origin in France. His arguments do not appear to me to be entirely convincing. * Fr. D'Ovidio, "Sull' origine dei versi italiani," in the "Giorn stor. d. lett. ital.," 1898, xxxii. p. 1 *sqq.* G. Lisio, "Studio sulla forma metrica della canzone italiana nel secolo xiii." Imola, 1895. *

Page 64. That the sonnet is nothing but one of the stanzas of a canzone was first maintained by Witte in 1825; after this, cf. Blanc, "Gram. der ital. Sprache," p. 770, *sqq.*, Halle, 1844, and Mussafia, "Cinque sonetti antichi," in the "Sitzungsberichte" of the Viennese Academy of Sciences, Philos.-Hist. Class, 76, 380. Casini, "Notizia sulle forme metriche italiane," p. 37, Firenze, 1884, quoted a canzone (by Guittone), the stanzas of which have actually the form of sonnets. One by Jacopone da Todi, "Chi ne saria credente udendo dire" (published by Sorio, "Opuscoli religiosi di Modena," ser. ii., t. iii.) illustrates this still better, being in verses of eleven syllables. A. Borgognoni, in the "Nuova Antologia," ser. ii., vol. xiii., p. 243 *sqq.*, 1879, wished to derive the sonnet from the ballad stanza with repeated refrain, which is very unnecessary; to begin with, are there any ballads in which the *volta* is so short in proportion to the mutations? The parallel with the Provençal *coblas esparsas* was drawn by Tobler in the "Jenaer Literaturzeitung," 1878, No. 47, p. 669.—H. Welti, "Gesch. des Sonettes in der deutsch. Dichtung," p. 33 *sqq.*, Leipzig, 1884, rejects Witte's explanation, and decides in favour of D'Ancona's, who attributes a popular origin to the sonnet. So, too, Morpurgo, "Riv. crit. d. lett. ital.," i., No. 4, p. 103, who, with a view to supporting this theory,

observes that, at the beginning, the order of rhymes observed in the sonnet was *a b a b*. This observation was not new (cf. "Scuola poetica siciliana," p. 168, *note*), and does it prove what Morpurgo wishes? Is it impossible for the stanza of a canzone to have the order *a b a b*? * A Foresti, "Nuove osservazioni intorno all' origine ed alle varietà metriche del sonetto nei secoli xiii. e xiv." (estr. dal vol. xii. degli Atti dell' Ateneo di Bergamo), Bergamo, 1895. *

Page 65. The name *Discordo* for this metrical *genre* is found as early as in the "Cod. Rediano," No. 110. For the Provençal *lays*, cf. P. Meyer, "Le roman de Flamenca," p. 279, *note* 1, Paris, 1865, and the *lays* published by Bartsch, "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.," i. 61 *sqq*.

Page 66. An admirable exposition of the early poetic language, according to the MSS., by N. Caix, "Le Origini della lingua italiana," Firenze, 1880. For the dispute concerning the language of the Sicilian poems, cf. the literature quoted by Gaspary, "La scuola poetica," p. 180, *sqq*.; moreover, Bartoli, "Stor. lett. ital.," ii. 175 *sqq*. M. Ardizzone, "Della lingua in cui composero i poeti siciliani del sec. xiii.," Palermo, 1882 (insignificant). Di Giovanni, "Del volgare usato da' primi poeti siciliani; Discorso letto alla R. Accademia di scienze e lettere di Palermo," June, 1879 [reprinted in "Fil. e lett. Sicil.," iii.]. C. Avolio, "La questione delle rime nei poeti siciliani del secolo xiii.," in "Misc. Caix e Canello," p. 237 *sqq*., wishes to show that the non-Sicilian rhymes can be explained by the aid of the ancient pronunciation of the dialect. He has not convinced me.

Page 67. For the traces of a more original type of poetry among the Sicilians, cf. an interesting article by G. Salvadori, "Prima di Dante," in the "Fanfulla della Domenica," Roma, September 10th, 1882, which, however, is not free from exaggeration.

Page 71. Monaci, in his "Arch. paleografico ital.," Roma, 1882, has, on tav. 8-10, had the whole of the "Rosa fresca" reproduced in heliotype; on tav. 11 the page in question of Colocci's index; and on tav. 12-14 the passage in Colocci's papers, where the poem is quoted and the poet mentioned. In the "Notizie" Monaci showed that the name *Ciulo* is due only to Ubaldini's mistake, and also that Allacci was acquainted with no MS. save that of the Vatican. Still, Monaci thinks that Colocci had seen another MS., and, perhaps, found the name, *Cielo dal Camo* in it. That is possible, but by no means certain, and may we accept the testimony concerning the name from such an uncritical age, without knowing the nature of the source from which it is derived? Could not Colocci have been mistaken as Ubaldini was, and even to a greater extent? For the poem itself, and for everything that has been written concerning it,

cf. D'Ancona, "Antiche Rime Volgari," i., pp. 165-377, reprinted in D'Ancona's "Studi sulla lett. ital. de' primi secoli," Ancona, 1884, where the Appendix, p. 386 *sqq.*, carries the further history of the controversy down to more recent times.—For the metre of the poem, besides what Monaci wrote on it in the "Riv. di fil. rom.," ii. 113 *sqq.*, cf. now Mussafia, "Ein altneapolitanisches Regimen Sanitatis," p. 49 *sqq.* (from the "Sitzungsber." of the Academy, vol. 106), Wien, 1884, and Percopo, "IV. poemetti sacri dei sec. xiv. e xv.," p. xix. *sqq.*, Bologna, 1885.—For the rest, the flood of writings on the "Rosa fresca" and its author has not ceased since D'Ancona's last publication. Di Giovanni, "Ciulo d'Alcamo, la Defensa, ecc., anteriori alle costituzioni del regno del 1231," Bologna, 1884 (from the "Propugnatore," vol. xvii.). Casini replied in the "Riv. crit.," i., No. v., p. 144 *sq.* Di Giovanni again, "La defensa e il diritto nuovo nelle costituzioni del regno del 1231," Bologna, 1885 (from the "Propugnatore," vol. xviii.), which seemed to me to be of greater weight and importance. C. Cipolla, "Una quistione paleografica," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iv. 389, concludes that the reading "Cielo" is beyond doubt, and "D'Alcamo" highly probable. I do not mention other short treatises of small moment. * Paul Marchot, "Sur le 'contraste' de Cielo Dalcamo," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," 1897, xxx., p. 208. *

Page 75. Biographical notes to the poets of Tuscany and Romagna: Buonagiunta di Riccomo Orbicciani degli Overardi occurs in a document of May 18th, 1295, and in one of December 6th, 1296; cf. Carlo Minutoli in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 223, Firenze, 1865. * S. Pieri's critical edition of Buonagiunta's poems has long been printed (Bologna, Zanichelli), but is apparently not yet published. * There is a "Gallus judex agnelli" among the Pisan legates to the Council of Lyons, 1275; cf. Muratori, "Script.," xxiv. 682.—Of Ugolino Buzzuola we have only one sonnet in the literary tongue, and one in the dialect of Romagna ("Ocli del conte ondeo mender nego") contained, as the last but one, in the Cod. Vat. 3214, and published by Crescimbeni, "Istoria della Volgar Poesia," Venezia, 1730, iii. 80, and by Grion, "Pozzo di S. Patrizio," Bologna, 1870, (p. 24). Andrea Zannoni, quoted by Giuliani, "Opere latine di Dante," i. 137, Firenze, 1878, is said to have proved that Dante's "Bucciola" is only additional name of Ugolino, and in no way connected with Tommaso. Salimbene mentions Hugolinus Buzola under the year 1250 as *præcipuus* in the family of the Alberghetti, p. 184. Francesco da Barberino quotes two verses of Ugolino Bozuola in the "Reggimento," i. 3, and, in the commentary to the "Documenti d'amore," he says that he knew him personally, and speaks of an Italian

didactic poem of his (*in idiomate Faventinorum*), "De salutandi modis"; cf. the passage in Zambrini, "Op. volg.," p. 208 *sq.*—* For some of these poets cf. Casini in the "Riv. crit.," iv. 33 *sqq.*, and in the "Propugnatore," N. S. 1, i. 118 *sqq.* L. Frati, "Paolo Zoppo," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xi. 129. *

Page 77. The two Provençal sonnets of Dante da Majano are printed in the "Archiv für d. Studium der neueren Sprachen," xxxiii. 411. One of them also in Bartsch, "Chrestom. Provençale," ed. 4, p. 319, and in Nannucci, "Man.," i. 326. For the fact that Lanfranchi's poem, "Valenz senher reis dels Aragones" is a sonnet, cf. "Giorn. di fil. rom.," iv. 220; it was composed *circa* 1284, cf. O. Schultz, "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 230. A. Borgognoni, "Dante da Majano," Ravenna, 1882, tried to show that the whole of Dante da Majano, with his Provençal and Italian poems, was a forgery. Fr. Novati, "Dante da Majano ed Adolfo Borgognoni," Ancona, 1883, showed that his reasoning was very defective, and proved by documents that a Dante da Majano really lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Against Novati: [A. Borgognoni, "La questione majanesca o Dante da Majano," Città di Castello, 1885]. * Ranieri Ajazzi, "Dante da Majano," Firenze, 1890. Giovanni Bertacchi, "Le rime di Dante da Majano, ristampate ed illustrate," Bergamo, 1896. *—For the object with which the "Donatz proensal" was composed, cf. Stengel, "Die beiden ältesten prov. Grammatiken," p. 131, Marburg, 1878, and D'Ovidio in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 1 *sqq.* Also P. Merlo, *ib.*, iii. 218 *sqq.*, and Gröber, "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.," viii. 112 *sqq.* For the persons to whom the book is dedicated, Jacobus de Morra and Corradutius de Sterletto, cf. the note of Scheffer-Boichorst, "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil.," viii. 290 *sqq.* The name of the author, Uc Faidit, appears to be beyond doubt, since it was found also in the MS. Landau, published by Biadene, "Studi di fil. rom.," i. 353.—The poetical version of the "Razos" by Terramagnino is published in "Romania," viii. 184 *sqq.*

Page 77. It is not quite correct to say that the lyrical poets of the South were unacquainted with the disputes between several poets. Two *tenzoni* between Southern poets have now been found. The one, between Pier della Vigna, Jacopo da Lentini, and Jacopo Mostacci da Pisa, which deals with the reality or unreality of love, was discussed by Monaci, "Sui primordi della scuola poetica siciliana," Roma, 1884 (from the "Nuova Antologia" of August 15th, p. 6). The other (printed in D'Ancona's "Antiche rime volgari," vol. iv., Nos. 326-330) consists of five sonnets, between the Abate di Tiboli and Jacopo da Lentini, treating of the deity of love, which is denied by

Jacopo. The first sonnet of the Abate di Tiboli contains a verse, "E son montato per le quatro scale," which alludes to the canzone of Guiraut di Calanso on the allegory of love ("A leis cui am de cor"), stanza 4: "E poiai hom per quatre gras mout les," a canzone which was known also to Guido Cavalcanti. It is worthy of note that the rhymes of the sonnets in these two *tenzoni* do not correspond.

Page 80. The name *Canzone quivoca* or *quivica* occurs in the MS. Rediano. Antonio da Tempo deals with this species of rhyme, on pp. 160 *sqq.* in the edition of Grion ("Delle rime volgari, Trattato di Antonio da Tempo," Bologna, 1869). Gidino da Sommacampagna ("Trattato dei ritmi volgari," edited by Giuliari, Bologna, 1870), discusses the *sonetti equivoci*, p. 171 *sqq.*

Page 83. The political sonnets of the Florentine notariesi n the Vatican MS. 3793, partly published by Trucchi, i. 182 *sqq.*, Cherrier, "Hist. de la Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs," etc., iv. (Paris, 1851), p. 527 *sqq.*, one by Grion, "Pozzo," p. 46; some of them also in D'Ancona's "Antiche rime," iv., No. 698 *sqq.*—Don Arrigo's poem from the same MS. in D'Ancona, *ib.*, ii. No. 166. For all these poems, cf. D'Ancona, "La politica nella poesia del secolo xiii e xiv," in the "Nuova Antologia," iv. 5 *sqq.* * V. Cian, "La poesia storico-politica italiana e il suo metodo di trattazione," Torino-Palermo, 1893. *

Page 85. For the few notices on Guittone's life, cf. Bottari, "Lettere di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo," Roma, 1745, Introduction, and Tiraboschi, "Stor. Lett." iv. 400 *sqq.* For three documents proving Guittone's presence at Bologna in 1285, cf. Casini in the "Riv. crit." iii. 114.—L. Romanelli, "Di Guittone d'Arezzo e delle sue opere," Campobasso, 1875, is useless. P. Vigo, "Delle rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo," in the "Giorn. di fil. rom." ii. 19 *sqq.* W. Koken, "Guittone's von Arezzo Dichtung und sein Verhältniss zu Guinicelli von Bologna," Leipzig, 1886; very bad. —The poems of Guittone, edited by L. Valeriani: "Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo," Firenze, 1828, of which the Florence edition of 1867 is an imperfect reprint. Poems of Guittone are reproduced from the Vatican, Palatine, and Laurentian MSS. in the collections of D'Ancona (vols. ii. and iv.), Bartoli, and Casini, respectively. * A critical edition of the poems is being prepared by F. Pellegrini. *—For Guittone's prose, cf. Galvani, "Propugnatore," iv. 1°, p. 12 *sqq.* Guittone's letters, thirty-five in number, including the eight poetical ones and the five addressed to him by others, are all contained in the MS. Rediano 9 of the Laurenziana. According to a note in the Codex, Redi possessed a larger collection, consisting of sixty-four letters. A letter of Guittone's to the commune of Florence, after the defeat of the Aretines in 1289, is mentioned in a chronicle published by Hartwig, "Quell. und Forsch.," ii. 231. * Cf. Casini's account

of the MS. Riccardiano 2533 in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital." iii. 164 *sqq.* A critical edition of this text is being prepared by F. Torraca and M. Menghini. *

Page 89. That the violent transpositions of the Pisans were due to imitation of the Latin style was noted by D'Ancona, in the "Nuova Antologia," ser. ii., vol. xii., p. 173.

Page 89. A certain "Monte Andrea Ughonis Medici," who flourished in 1280, and might be identical with the poet, was discovered by D'Ancona, "Antiche Rime," ii. 226. * E. Lamma, "Rime di Guido Orlandi," Imola, 1898. *

Page 90. According to Carducci, in a note to Dante's "Vita Nuova," ed. d'Ancona, Pisa, 1884, p. 59 *sq.* the difference between *sonetto doppio* and *sonetto rinterzato* is this, that in the former one or two verses of seven syllables are introduced in the *terzine*, in the latter a verse of eleven syllables as well. Lines of four syllables, extending to ten verses, were the favourite form of Monte Andrea, and very numerous are his sonnets in this form, reproduced from the Vatican MS. in D'Ancona's fourth volume. One by Paolo Zoppo in reply to Monte, *ib.*, No. 693 ; one by Schiatta, No. 651. Double sonnets of twenty-three verses are those of Monte in D'Ancona, vol. iv., Nos. 621, 622, that in Grion, "Pozzo," p. 46, and that in Cherrier, iv., 527, and also Schiatta's reply ; one by Maestro Francesco in D'Ancona, iv., No. 501.

Page 90. The ballad, "Et donali conforto," in D'Ancona, iii., No. 316. For the ballad in general cf. Carducci, "Intorno ad alcune rime dei secoli xiii. e xiv.," Imola, 1876 (should be 1878), p. 56.—Monaci thought that he recognised the ballad form in a rhymed Latin inscription of the year 1190 at Foligno ; cf. "Rivista critica," i., p. 89. However, the agreement is not so exact.

Page 93. For a biographical note on Chiaro Davanzati by Fr. Novati, cf. the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," v. 404 *sqq.* His numerous poems are now for the greater part printed In D'Ancona's "Antiche rime," vols. iii. and iv. The character of his poetry was dealt with by Casini in the "Riv. Crit.," i. 71-78, and in an article of mine in the "Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.," ix. 571 *sqq.* * C. de Lollis, "Sul canzoniere di Chiaro Davanzati," in the first *Supplemento* of the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," 1898, pp. 82 *sqq.* *

P. 98. For some slight remnants of Tuscan popular songs belonging to the thirteenth century, cf. D'Ancona, "La Poesia Popolare Italiano," Livorno, 1878, p. 8 *sqq.*—* R. Renier, "Appunti sul contrasto fra la madre e la figliuola bramosa di marito," Misc. Rossi-Teiss, 1898. *

Page 99. The biographical notes on Guido Guinicelli are given by Gaetano Monti in Fantuzzi's "Notizie degli scrittori

bolognesi," 1784, t. iv., p. 345 *sqq*. Here, too, the observation that he was married to Beatrice of the noble family della Fratta. G. Grion's "Guido Guinicelli e Dino Compagni," in the "Propugnatore," ii. 2°, p. 274 *sqq*., should be read with great caution, like all this author's works. For the rest, I am not certain whether G. Monti hit on the real Guido, since, as he says himself, the name of Guido and Guinicelli occurred frequently in the family of the Principi. * Antonio Bongioanni, "Guido Guinizelli e la sua riforma poetica," Venezia, 1896 ("Estr. dal Giorn. Dantesco"). *—T. Casini, "Le rime dei poeti bolognesi del secolo xiii.," Bologna, 1881, gives all the poems by Bolognese of the time, with a complete bibliography.

Page 102. That this spiritual, mystical love, in Guinicelli, Cavalcanti, and Dante, sprang from the sensual love of chivalry, has often been remarked; see especially the admirable observations of Gaston Paris "in Romania," xii. 522. The two differ considerably from each other, but for the spiritual love the conditions of that of chivalry still hold good: here, too, the lady is the mistress; here, too, love has nothing to do with marriage, either for the present or the future.

Page 103. A list of reminiscences of Guinicelli to be found in Dante was given by Nannucci, "Man.," i. 46-48.

Page 104. For Guido Ghisilieri, cf. G. Monti, *l.c*., p. 145 *sqq*. A. Borgognoni expressed doubts as to the existence of this poet in an article I have been unable to obtain ["Preludio," viii. 5, 6]. For Fabrizio, cf. Monti, *ib*. iii. 282 *sqq*. In the Barberini MS., xlv. 47, he is called *Fabruzo de Perosa*, see Casini, p. 370 *sqq*. Monti thought that he retired in his exile to Perugia. * L. Frati, "Fabruzzo Lambertazzi," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xi. 128. * Doubtful conjectures on the personality of Onesto are to be found in Monti, *l.c*., vi. 181 *sq*. When Dante wrote his "De Eloq. Vulg.," Onesto was dead, for he is mentioned (i. 15) among the *doctores qui fuerunt*. * L. Frati, "Onesto da Bologna," in the "Giorn. stor.," x. 356. *

Pages 105 *sqq*. The Bolognese popular poetry of the thirteenth century is treated by Casini, "La coltura bolognese," etc., in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. it.," i. 26 *sqq*., and by Carducci, "Intorno ad alcune rime dei secoli xiii. e xiv. ritrovate ne' memoriali dell' archivio notarile di Bologna," Imola, 1876 (really 1878). The poems also in Carducci, "Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali nei secoli xiii. e xiv..," p. 39 *sqq*., Pisa, 1871, and in Casini, "Rime," p. 173 *sqq*.—In the little poem on the nightingale, Carducci and Casini (p. 174), without foundation, assume verses of twelve syllables with intermediate rhymes. The *ripresa* is also in two verses. That the first of these is without a rhyme is very usual; now, Carducci prints this *ripresa*, too, in two verses—a very inconsistent proceeding.

Carducci (" Intorno," etc., p. 77) is scarcely right in supposing that this poem of the nightingale alludes, at least allegorically, to an event, *che dovè aver commosso le menti e i cuori ai giorni in cui quella poesia fu cantata.* It is mistaking the innocent character of this poetry to assume that it contains anything of the kind. * L. di Giovanni, " Di un giuoco popolare nel secolo xiii.," Palermo, 1890. *

Page 106 *sq.* The *serventese* of the Geremei and Lambertazzi was published in 1841 by U. Guidi. The MS. is now not known ; it is reprinted in Casini, " Rime," p. 197 *sqq.* * F. Pellegrini, "Il serventese dei Lambertazzi e dei Geremei," in the " Atti, etc., della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna " (series iii., vols. ix and x), Bologna, 1892. * For the Italian *serventese* cf. Carducci, " Vita Nuova " (edition of 1884), pp. 53-56, and the observations on this passage in the " Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1884, p. 151. It is also worthy of remark that an *Italian* troubadour, Zorzi, should twice have called a love-song *serventese*, *v.* Levy, " Der Troub. Bert. Zorzi," p. 25. The *serventese* was also used, by predilection, for enumerations ; see, for example, in this one of the Geremei and Lambertazzi, the long list of the noble families of Bologna (verse 225 *sqq.*). Other *serventesi*, containing enumerations, were Dante's lost one on the sixty fairest ladies of Florence, and Pucci's on a cognate theme. * C. Pini, "Studio intorno al Sirventese italiano," Lecco, 1893. Cf. Pellegrini, in the " Giorn. stor. d. lett. it.," xxii. 395. * The form of the Italian *serventese*, that is to say, the curious concatenation by means of the short verse, is found in Provençal, for example, in Raimon de Miraval's love epistle (Bartsch, " Denkm.," p. 127) ; in Old French, in Rustebeuf and others, *v.* Tobler, " Vom französ. Versbau," third edition, Leipzig, 1894, p. 17. So, too, the " Bestournée par Richart," in Stengel, "Cod. Digby," p. 118 *sqq.* This is a *fatrasie.* The same occurs in a *fatrasie* of Phillippe de Remi, v. " Roman. Stud.," iv. 407. We find the same form, too, in the Provençal mystery of St. Pons (8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 4b, 8b . . .), *v.* Levy, in the " Literaturbl.," 1885, p. 337.

Page 108. Saladino is said to be of Pavio, in the " Poeti del primo secolo," i. 433. The Cod. Chigi, No. 245, and the Cod. Palatino, fol. 63, have simply Saladino, without mentioning his native town. There was a *Saladinus notarius cancellariae* in Pisa in the year 1270, *v.* Muratori, " Script," xxiv. 677 ; and a *Saladinus notarius de Acqui* among the Pisan jurists at the Council of Lyons in 1275, *ib.* 682. A Saladino, *uomo di corte*, that is to say, a minstrel, who was once in Sicily, occurs in the " Novellino," No. 40.—The so-called *Lamento della sposa padovana* was edited last by Carducci, " Cant. e ball.," p. 22 *sqq.* There is a note on the language in Ascoli, " Archivio glotto-

logico italiano," i. 421, *note*. Renier, "Giorn. stor.," iv. 423, note 1, thinks that it lacks not only the beginning but also the conclusion, and that it is a fragment, not of a lyrical composition, but of a popular narrative poem. It is quite possible that he is right. To which crusade does the poem allude? Carducci thinks, to the one preached by Urban IV.; but did he ever preach a crusade save the one against Manfred and the Saracens of Nocera, which cannot be the one in question? D'Ancona, "Poesia popolare," p. 18, is inclined to connect the poem with the crusade of 1204, because the Venetians took part in it. But could not a Paduan have taken part in another crusade as well, for example, in that of Frederick II.? For the rest, the crusade cannot indicate the period of the poem, which might be retrospective. As a specimen of dialectical court poetry in the North might be taken the canzone on the sufferings of love, edited by Mussafia, "Riv. di fil. rom.," ii. 65 *sqq*. However, it may be of later date.

Page 109 *sqq*. The author of the "Bataille Loquifer" pretends that he had been in Sicily, and gained a large sum of money by reciting his poem, which may, however, merely be one of the lies usual among the minstrels; cf. Gautier, "Epop. franç.," i. 215, *note*, and G. Paris, "Romania," iv. 471. According to G. Paris, *ib*., v. 110, the "Alischans," too, was probably written in Sicily; that would be in the time of the Normans.—The chronicle of Martino da Canale was edited by Polidori, "Arch. stor. ital.," t. viii. On the passage in Dante, concerning which there has been much dispute, see, in the last instance, Witte, "Jenaer Lit. Zeit.," 1879, p. 381, and Böhmer, "Roman. Stud.," iv. 114.—That Dante's words *vulgare prosaicum* cannot be taken to include verse romances as well, was shown by Böhmer; see also G. Paris, "Rom.," x. 479 *note*.—For Rusticiano cf. P. Paris, "Les manuscrits françois de la Bibl. du Roy," vol. ii. 355 *sqq*., iii. 56 *sqq*., Paris, 1838; A. Bartoli, "I viaggi di Marco Polo," p. lv. *sqq*., Firenze, 1863.

Page 110. For "Gui de Nanteuil," see P. Meyer in the edition of the poem in the "Anciens Poètes de la France," p. xxiv. *sqq*., Paris, 1861. There, on page xxv, will be found the verse: "Car amor ne rechert rens for che gentilixe," which appears to be a reminiscence of Guinicelli. Fragments of "Aliscans" are printed, according to the MS. VIII. of St. Mark's, in Keller's "Romvart," Mannheim, 1844, p. 29 *sqq*. In the same book are published specimens of all the other texts we are now discussing. A portion of "Aspremont" was published by Bekker in the "Phil. u. hist. Abh. der Kgl. Akad. d. W. in Berlin," of the year 1839, p. 252 *sqq*. For the MSS. of St. Mark's, cf. also P. Lacroix, in Champollion-Figeac's "Doc. hist. inédits," iii., p. 345 *sqq*., Paris, 1847. Fragments of the

Franco-Italian "Anseis de Cartage," are given by W. Meyer, "Ztschrft. f. rom. Phil.," ix. 600 *sqq.*, and of the "Aspremont," *ib.* x. 22 *sqq.*

Page 111. That the Jean of Navarre and the Gautier of Aragon, in the "Entrée," are invented, is the opinion of Gautier, "Epop.," ii. 328, and of G. Paris, "Histoire poétique de Charlemagne," Paris, 1865, p. 175. Stengel, "Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.," v. 380, opposes this view, but is certainly wrong.

Page 111. The "Entrée de Spagne," which is said to comprise between fifteen and sixteen thousand verses, is not yet printed; an analysis and specimens are given by Gautier in the "Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes," IV^e^ série, t. iv. 217 *sqq.* The last 482 verses are printed in A. Thomas's "Nouvelles recherches sur l'Entrée de Spagne," p. 51 *sqq.*, Paris, 1882.—"La Prise" was published by Mussafia: "Altfranz. Gedichte aus venet. Hss.," Wien, 1864, vol. i. For the title, cf. Mussafia, "Handschriftl. Studien," Wien, 1863, ii., p. 291, *note*.

Page 114. For Estout, cf. Gautier, "Epop.," ii. 166 *sqq.* How he became an Englishman was shown by G. Paris, "Hist. poét.," p. 183, note 1; see also Thomas, "Rech.," p. 44.

Page 115. On the relations between the "Entrée" and the "Prise," and between their authors, see Thomas, "Nouv. rech.," which contain references to everything else bearing on the subject. On p. 23 *sqq.* are printed 195 verses from the "Passione" of Nicola da Verona. *V. Crescini, "Di Nicolò da Verona," (Estr. dagli Atti del R. Istituto Veneto), Venezia, 1897.—A "Pharsale," by the same Nicola, was discovered and published by H. Wahle, as No. 80 of Stengel's "Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen," Marburg, 1888.*

Page 115. The "Hector" was edited by Bartoli, in the "Arch. veneto," vol. iii., parte ii., 344 *sqq.*, according to the MS. XVIII. of St. Mark's, where it comes after the "Roman de Troie." The beginning of the MS. Riccardiano was printed in "I primi due secoli," p. 109. For a MS. in Paris and another in Oxford, cf. P. Meyer, "Documents manuscrits de l'ancienne litt. de la France," Paris, 1871, pp. 159 and 245 *sqq.* For a fifth MS. in London, cf. P. Meyer, "Rom.," ii. 135 *sqq.* Joly deals with the "Hector" in "Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie," i. 410, Paris, 1870.

Page 116. For the language of these monuments, cf. Mussafia, Introduction to the "Prise," p. vi. *sqq.*, and P. Meyer, "Rech. sur l'Epopée franç., Paris, 1867, p. 46 *sqq.* Adolf Keller, "Die Sprache des Venetianer Roland," Strassburg, 1884. On the language of the "Anseis," see W. Meyer, "Ztsch. f. rom. Phil., ix. 623 *sqq.*; on that of the "Aspremont," x. 42 *sqq.*

Page 116. The compilation of the MS. XIII. is considered to be due entirely to one author by P. Rajna, "Romania," ii. 166,

and elsewhere, and also by G. Paris, "Romania," ii. 270 *sqq.* This view is wrongly opposed by Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," ii. 43. According to G. Paris's conjecture, the MS. xiii. is identical with the one which, in the inventory of the Gonzaga of the year 1407, No. 44, is mentioned under the name of "Karolus Magnus," cf. "Romania," ix. 511. In that case, the greater part of the beginning would be missing, and this, as G. Paris thinks, contained the history of the entire Carolingian house, like the "Reali di Francia." Then Thomas, "Romania," x. 407, conjectured that the MS. 44 of the Gonzaga was the one from which G. M. Barbieri quotes "Huon d'Auvergne," and G. Paris, adhering to the identity between the MS. xiii. and No. 44, is thereby now led to believe that the beginning of the former contained "Huon d'Auvergne," *ib.*, p. 408, *note.* On the compilation of the MS. xiii. in general see G. Paris, "Hist. Poét.," p. 165 *sqq.* The following of the poems have been published: "Macaire," twice—by Mussafia, "Altfranz. Ged.," vol. ii., and by Guessard, in the "Anciens poètes de la France," vol. ix., Paris, 1866; moreover, "Berthe aux grands pieds," by Mussafia, in "Romania," iii. 340, *sqq.*, iv. 91 *sqq.*; "Berta e Milone," *ib.* xiv. 177 *sqq.*; "Orlandino," *ib.* 192 *sqq.* The remaining portions have been analysed by Guessard in the "Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes," IV^e^ série, t. iii., p. 393 *sqq.* For the "Bueve," "Karleto," "Milo e Bertha," see P. Rajna, "Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia," Bologna, 1872, p. 134 *sqq.*, and 226 *sqq.* [For "Karleto," see also Rajna, in the "Riv. filol-lett." of Verona, vol. ii.] * For the "Buovo d'Antona," cf. also "Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.," xi. 153 *sqq.*, xii. 463 *sqq.*, and xiv. 47 *sqq.* * Finally, for "Ogier," see Rajna, "Romania," ii. 153 *sqq.*—On the originality of "Milone e Berta," see G. Paris, "Hist. poét.," p. 170, and Rajna, "Ricerche," p. 253 *sqq.* However, in "Romania," ii. 363 *sqq.*, G. Paris again expresses doubts, and thinks it probable that the French original has, after all, only been lost.—On the *geste* of the traitors in the compilation, see G. Paris, "Hist. poét.," p. 167 *sqq.*, and "Rom.," ii. 362. He rightly remarks at the same time that it was no invention of the compiler himself.

Page 118. The "Roland": P. Rajna, "La rotta di Roncisvalle nella letteratura cavalleresca ital.," in the "Propugnatore," iii. 2°, 394 *sqq.* The Franco-Italian text was edited by Kölbing, "La chanson de Roland, Genauer Abdruck der venet. Hs. iv.," Heilbronn, 1877.—Of other Franco-Italian texts we may note the following: A collection of fables, of which only the "morals" (in verses of eight syllables) have come down to us, published by Rajna, "Giorn. di fil. rom.," i. 34 *sqq.* A legend of S. Catherine, partly in French, partly in Franco-Italian, mentioned by Mussafia, "Zur Katharinenlegende," Wien, 1874, p. 24 *sq.* The "Passion," of the MS. vi. of S. Mark's (written down in 1371,

but probably older), different to the one by Nicola da Verona: Boucherie, "La Passion du Christ," Montpellier, 1870 (from the "Revue des lang. rom.").—There is a note on a Franco-Italian version of the "Conti di antichi cavalieri," translated from the Italian original, in "Romania," xiv. 621.

Page 119. The *Cantatores Francigenarum* probably do not mean French singers, but such as sing of French heroes; this the explanation of Gaston Paris, "Hist. poét.," p. 162, and of Rajna, too.—For the language of the Venetian versions, cf. Ascoli, "Arch. Glott.," i. 451. The "Bovo," contained in a Laurentian MS., was published by Rajna, "Ricerche," p. 493 *sqq.* "Rainardo e Lesengrino," ed. by E. Teza, Pisa, 1869. The MS. in Udine was discovered by Putelli, and published by him in the "Giorn. di fil. rom.," ii. 156 *sqq.* Now the two versions of this *Rainardo* are contained in E. Martin's "Le roman de Renart," Strassburg, 1885, vol. ii., p. 358 *sqq.*

Page 121. The period of the Franco-Italian poetry: Gautier assigned the "Entrée" and the "Prise" to the fourteenth century. None of the MSS., probably, are earlier than this. G. Paris (Romania," ii. 364 *note* 2), placed the compilation in the MS. xiii., and the "Prise" and "Entrée" in different periods (contrary to a former opinion expressed in the "Hist. poét."); there is no good reason to support this view.

Page 121. R. Renier, "La discesa di Ugo d'Alvernia allo Inferno," Bologna, 1883, where the bibliography is given. The Franco-Italian original of the version in Turin was contained in the MS. 21 of the Bibl. Gonzaga, according to the inventory made in 1407; see "Romania," ix. 508. This MS., after being newly discovered in the Hamilton Library, with which it came to Berlin, was more fully described by A. Tobler, "Die Berliner Handschrift des Huon d'Auvergne," in the "Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Akad. d. W.," xxvii. 605 *sqq.* The MS. was completed as early as 1341. For the fact that the Paduan version, too, follows the Berlin version literally in certain passages, cf. Casini, "Rivista critica," i. 82.

Page 121 *sq.* For Casola, cf. D'Ancona, "Studi di critica e storia letteraria," Bologna, 1880, p. 455 *sqq.*, where the bibliography of the subject is given. "Aquilon de Bavière," was analysed and characterised by Thomas, in "Romania," xi. 538 *sqq.*

Page 125. The Decalogue in the dialect of Bergamo and the "Salve Regina" are printed in Gabriele Rosa's "Dialetti, costumi e tradizioni delle provincie di Bergamo e di Brescia," Bergamo, 1855, p. 127 *sqq.* [Two new editions of this book appeared in 1857 and 1870.] The Decalogue may also be found in Biondelli's "Saggio sui dialetti Gallo-italici," Milano, 1855, p. 673 and in the same scholar's "Poesie lombarde inedite del

sec. xiii.," Milano, 1856, p. 197 *sqq.* The two poems in the dialect of Bergamo have been newly edited according to the MS., by Bartoli, "Crestomazia della poesia italiana dal periodo della origini," Torino, 1882, pp. 1 and 7.

Page 126. Biondelli, Mussafia and Bartoli assumed the existence of a literary tongue in Northern Italy. This view was opposed by Ascoli, "Arch. Glott.," i. 309 *sqq.*

Page 126. "Das Buch des Uguçon da Laodo," edited by A. Tobler, Berlin, 1884, (from the "Abhandl. der Berliner Akad. d. W."), with a literary and philological introduction. Tobler shows, p. 8 *sqq.*, that Barsegapè made use of Uguccione's poem.

Page 127. Barsegapè's poem is printed in Biondelli's "Poesie lombarde inedite," p. 35 *sqq.*, and in the same scholar's "Studi linguistici," Milano, 1856, p. 193 *sqq.* The MS. gives the date 1264; Tiraboschi, "Stor. lett." iv. 418, showed that this should be 1274. That the poem was intended for recital is proved by several passages, notably by the one on p. 258 in the "Studi ling.," where the author requests silence and attention, after the manner of the minstrels; and similarly by the lines on p. 314, from which it appears that women, too, were present. * C. Salvioni, in the "Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.," xv. 429 *sqq.* See also Emil Keller, "Die Sprache der Reimpredigt des Pietro da Barsegapè," in the "Beilage zum Programm der Thurgauischen Kantonsschule," Frauenfeld, 1896 (cf. "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xxix. 453 *sqq.*). *

Page 128. The poems of Fra Giacomino were published first by Ozanam in his "Documents pour servir à l'hist. litt. de l'Italie," Paris, 1850, and then by Mussafia, "Monumenti antichi di dialetti italiani," Vienna, 1864 (from the "Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. d. W."). For a second MS. in Udine, cf. Putelli, in the "Giorn. di fil. rom.," ii. 155. A third MS. was discovered by Rajna in the Colombina Library at Seville; cf. Biadene, in the "Studi di fil. rom.," i. 269 *sqq.* The poem "De Jerusalem Coelesti" is contained also in an Oxford MS.; cf. Tobler, "Das Spruchgedicht des Girard Pateg," p. 4, *note.*

Page 129. The prayer to the Virgin, in the Veronese dialect, and in the form of a *serventese*, was published by C. Cipolla in the "Arch. stor. ital.," serie IV., t. vii., p. 150 *sqq.*, with many mistakes, and absolute misconception as to the form of the poem. * This poem was edited again by C. Pini, in his "Studio intorno al sirventese italiano," Lecco, 1893; while Cipolla printed a revised text, differing considerably from his first edition, in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xxiii., p. 156 *sqq.* *

Page 130. For Bonvesin, cf. Tiraboschi, "Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta," Mediolani, 1766. i. 297 *sqq.*; and "Stor. lett.," iv. 418 *sq.* The two testaments were published by C. Canetta, in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," vii. 170 *sqq.* The

poems were edited by I. Bekker in the "Berichte der Berliner Akad. d. W." of the year 1850 (pp. 322, 379, 438, 478) and of the year 1851 (pp. 3, 85, 132, 209; here, on p. 450, a poetical passage from the "Vita scolastica"). Some of the poems are printed also in Biondelli's "Poesie lomb. ined.," and in his "Stud. ling."; but here according to the very faulty copy in the Ambrosiana. A new edition of Bonvesin has been promised by Biadene. A Seifert, "Glossar zu den Gedichten des Bonvesin da Riva," Berlin, 1886; * (cf. Salvioni, in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," viii. 410 *sqq.*, and ix. 340 *sqq.*). *

Page 131. With the dialogue between the sinner and the Virgin may be compared the Provençal poems in Suchier, "Denkmäler prov. Lit. u. Sprache," i. (Halle, 1883), pp. 215, 225 *sqq.*, and p. 279, verse 211 *sqq.* * F. Roediger, "Contrasti antichi—Cristo e Satana," Firenze, 1887.*

Page 132. Bonvesin da Riva, "Il trattato dei mesi," was edited by Lidforss, Bologna, 1872; on this publication see Wesselofsky, in the "Propugnatore," v. 2°, 368 *sqq.*, and Mussafia, in "Romania," ii. 113 *sqq.* The twelve months were a favourite theme for poetry. Thus, Jacopo da Acqui says, at the end of the well-known anecdote concerning Pier della Vigna and his wife: "Et sic facta est pax inter dominam et Petrum, et tunc Petrus cantat pro gaudio de duodecim mensibus anni et de proprietatibus eorum." Thus, too, we have the series (*corona*) of sonnets by Folgore da S. Gemignano, which will be dealt with further on. For the numerous *contrasti* of the twelve months in popular poetry, cf. "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 250 and 261.

Page 134. See, for example, how ugly is the tale of "Frate Ave Maria," in the "Dodici Conti Morali" (No. 4), if we compare it with Bonvesin. For other indications of the legend, cf. Zambrini, *ib.*, p. 19; likewise Bartoli, "I primi due sec.," p. 296, *note* 8, and "Stor. lett.," ii. 80 *sq.*; "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," i. 360 ("Du povre clerc"), *ib.*, p. 367.

Page 118. A "Passion of Christ" in the ancient Veronese dialect, composed in tirades with a single rhyme and in verses of twelve syllables, was published by Biadene in the "Studi di fil. rom.," i. 243 *sqq.* He is inclined to attribute this, too, to Fra Giacomino. For other religious poems of Northern Italy see Mussafia's introduction to the "Monumenti antichi"; then there is the Catherine legend in Alexandrines edited by Mussafia, "Zur Katharinenlegende," Wien, 1874 (from the "Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Akad."). "Maria Aegyptiaca," in verses of eight syllables, edited by Casini, in the "Giorn. fil. rom.," iii., fasc. 2, p. 90 *sqq.*; this is a free rendering of a French original; cf. P. Meyer, "Romania," xii. 408. The religious, moral canzone in sixteen stanzas, "Santo spirto dolce glorioso," edited, from a

Lyons MS., by W. Foerster ("Giorn. fil. rom.," ii. 46 *sqq.*), scarcely North Italian, rather Tuscan, perhaps by a disciple of Guittone's school; the slight dialectical colouring may be due to the scribe.

Page 134. That Bonvesin's poem, dealing with the fifty rules of conduct was still known in the sixteenth century is proved by Giulio Cesare Croce's imitation of one of the stanzas (the 30th *cortesia*); see the passage in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," iii. 216. The didactic poem in the Vatican MS. 4476, was published by Bartsch, "Riv. fil. rom.," ii. 45 *sqq.* For Old French and Provençal poems dealing with conduct at table, see P. Meyer, "Romania," xiv. 520.

Page 134 *sqq.* For Patechio's name see Novati, "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," i. 413, *note* 2. Notes concerning the poet and some of his verses were published by Mussafia in the "Jahrb.," vi. 222 *sqq.*, and viii. 210; also by Teza, in the "Giorn. fil. rom.," i. 233 *sqq.* See, too, D'Ancona, "Poesia pop. ital.," p. 12. Patechio's poem has now been edited by Tobler: "Das Spruchgedicht des Girard Pateg," in the "Abh. d. Berl. Akad. d. W.," 1886. Pateg borrows from the "Proverbia Salomonis," but still more from "Ecclesiasticus" (see Tobler, p. 7 *sqq.*). * F. Novati, "Girardo Pateg e le sue 'Noie'" (in the "Rendiconti del R. Istituto lombardo," xxix. 5 and 9). See also "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xxi. 455. * "Proverbia quae dicuntur super natura foeminarum," edited, from the Saibante-Hamilton MS. (now at Berlin), by Tobler, in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," ix., 296 *sqq.* * A. Raphael, "Die Sprache der Proverbia quae dicuntur &c.," Berlin, 1887. *

Page 136. The "Rime genovesi" were published by Lagomaggiore in the "Arch. Glott.," ii. 161 *sqq.* The MS. is not an original, but only a copy (see Lagomaggiore's Preface). * A second instalment of these poems was published in vol. x. of the same journal by E. Parodi. *

Page 138 *sqq.* * O. Grifoni, "La letteratura umbra nel sec. xiii.," Trevi, 1899. *

Page 138. Contrary to the general assumption, Bonghi ("Nuov. Antol.," ser. ii., t. 35., p. 606) places Francis' birth in the year 1181, as the date is to be found only in the "Fioretti," and these say that he died in 1226, *negli anni* 45 *della sua nativitade*. But does not this mean "in the forty-fifth year"? And that would give the year 1182.

Page 138 *sq.* The "Speculum vitae B. Francisci," p. 124, calls the Hymn to the Sun also "Laus de creaturis," and then "Canticum fratris solis de creaturis domini nostri"; the same occurs on p. 128, but here the title "Canticum fratris solis" is designated as being the one selected by Francis himself. This enumeration of created things obviously goes back to

Psalm cxlviii, as has been noted (see Grion, "Propug.," i. 605, and D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," ser. ii., t. 21, p. 197). However, the Psalmist exhorts all creatures to praise God, whereas Francis extols God on their account. It is true that Hase ("Franz von Assisi," Leipzig, 1886, p. 88 *sqq.*), and D'Ancona, *l.c.*, try to take the Hymn to the Sun in the same sense as the Psalm. But how can death extol God? And the very beginning: "Laudatu sii . . . cum tutte le tue creature," contradicts this theory.—The best text of the "Canticum" is that of Böhmer, "Rom. stud.," i. 120 *sqq.*; it contains scarcely any formal alterations, and the verses quoted above are taken from it. The reading which Fonfani communicated in his translation of Ozanam's book, "I poeti francescani in Italia nel sec. xiii.," Prato, 1854, p. 49 *sqq.*, is supposed to be taken from a MS. written before 1255, which is certainly not the case, unless, indeed, he made some important alterations himself. * F. Pulignani, "Il cantico del Sole di S. Fr. di Assisi," Foligno, 1888. Cf. Monaci, "Crestom," i. 29 *sqq.*, and Teza, in the "Propugnatore," N. S., i. 1, 108 *sqq.* I. Della Giovanna, "S. Francesco d'Assisi giullare e le 'Laudes Creaturarum,'" in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xxv. 1 *sqq.*, and xxix. 229 *sqq.* * Two other poems that were formerly attributed to Francis are rather by Jacopone (see D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," *l.c.*, p. 226, *note* 11).—For Francis in general, see, in addition to what has been quoted above, R. Bonghi's brilliant article in the "Nuova Antol., ser. ii., t. 35, p. 605 *sqq.* ["Il settimo centenario di S. Francesco," Assisi, 1867-1882, a periodical publication in five parts; see "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," i. 365 *sqq.*] * Paul Sabatier, "Vie de S. François d'Assise," 6e. éd., Paris, 1896 (English translation by L. S. Houghton, London, 1894). "Speculum perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima" . . . nunc primum edidit P. Sabatier, Paris, 1898 (English translation by Sebastian Evans, London, 1898). *

Page 139 *sq.* Fra Pacifico is mentioned not only by Francis' biographer, Tommaso da Celano, but also in the "Speculum vitæ B. Francisci et sociorum ejus," Metis, 1509, p. 124. All notices concerning verses by him are very doubtful; see Molteni, in the "Giorn. fil. rom.," ii. 93.

Page 143 *sqq.* For Fasani and the processions of the "Disciplinati," see Monaci, "Riv. fil. rom.," i., 250 *sqq.* * Renier, "Un codice antico di flagellanti," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xi. 109 *sqq.* *—D'Ancona deals with the *lauda* in his "Origine del teatro in Italia," Firenze, 1877, i. 105 *sqq.*—A *lauda* of exceptional antiquity, because it is the work of the saint Guido Vagnottelli, who died in 1250, is said to be published by Girol. Mancini ("I MSS. della libreria del Comune e

dell' Accademia etrusca di Cortona," Cortona, 1874); see "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," v. 301.

Page 145. It should be added that D'Ancona gives good reasons for doubting the date of the poem, "Or udite nova pazzia" as given in the old biography, and on the strength of its subject-matter he places it rather in the early period of the author's conversion ("Nuova Antol.," ser. ii., t. 21, p. 204 *note*).

Page 145. The notices concerning Jacopone's life are mostly taken from the early "Vita del beato fra Jacopone da Tode," in the Umbrian dialect, which was edited by Tobler in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," ii. 26 *sqq.*, iii. 178 *sqq.* (the lists of the poems); see also Wadding, "Annales Minorum," Roma, 1732, v. 408 *sqq.*, vi. 77 *sqq.*; and Ozanam, *l.c.*, p. 91 *sqq.* For Jacopone as poet, see above all the fine article by A. D'Ancona, "Jacopone da Todi, il giullare di Dio del sec. xiii.," in the "Nuova Antol.," *l.c.* p. 193 *sqq.*, and 438 *sqq.*; reprinted in the "Studj sulla lett. ital. de' primi secoli," Ancona, 1884, p. 1 *sqq.* The poems were edited by Francesco Tresatti: "Le poesie spirituali del B. Jacopone da Todi," Venezia, 1617; very faulty and containing a number of spurious pieces. A fair number of the poems were edited in an improved form by the Padre Bart. Sorio, in the "Poesie scelte di Fra Jacopone da Todi," Verona, 1858, and in the "Opuscoli religiosi, letterarj e morali," of Modena, from ser. i., t. 3 to ser. ii., t. 3 (also reprinted separately). See, too, Zambrini, "Op. vulg." A good edition is still wanting. Notes concerning MSS. were given by Böhmer, "Rom. Stud.," i. 137 *sqq.* E. Percopo, "Le Laudi di Fra Jacopone da Todi nei MSS. della Bib. naz. di Napoli" (in the "Propugnatore," xvii. 2°, p. 127, 376; xviii. 1°, p. 106, 2°, p. 136; xix. 1°, p. 239), gives the variants of the Neapolitan MSS., and the bibliography of each *lauda*, and discusses the authors to whom they may be attributed. * Andrea Moschetti, "I codici Marciani contenenti laude di Jacopone da Todi, descritti ed illustrati," Venezia, 1888. * The prose pieces attributed to him are not mentioned by himself, but were drawn up by one of his disciples as an appendix to the biography, in which form, indeed, they appear behind the early "Vita" ("Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," iii. 187 *sq.*); see on this point Gigli, "Prose edite ed inedite di Feo Belcari, Roma, 1843, i., p. lii. *sqq.*, D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," *l.c.*, p. 469 *note*, and Zambrini, "Op. vulg.," p. 514. The original form of these pieces is certainly always the Latin text. A Latin compilation of moral axioms by medieval and classical authors, in a MS. of the Angelica at Rome, is attributed to the Magister Jacopo of Todi, under the title "Flos Florum" (cf. Novati, "Carmina medii ævi," p. 25, *note*, 46 *sq.*, 49; and "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 130, *note*).

Page 147. Jacopone's saying is given according to the text in Wadding, v. 412.

Page 149. The imitation of the *devinalh* occurs in the poem "Amor di caritate," stanza 19. The extent to which Jacopone's poems of mystic love were influenced by the court poetry was noted by D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," *l.c.*, p. 225 *sq.*

Page 150. Jacopone's poem, "O Gesù, nostro amatore," describes the dance of the blessed spirits in heaven. Compare with it Bonaventura's "Dieta Salutis," x. cap. 6, where, however, the similarity consists only in the general subject-matter.

Page 150. * F. Flamini, "Sulle origini della laude, dell' ottava et del serventese in Italia" ("Rev. de métrique et de versification," i. 1 *sqq.*). *

Page 150. For the doubtful authorship of the "Stabat mater dolorosa," see D'Ancona, p. 469, *note.* The "Cur mundus militat" has also been attributed to St. Bernard and to Walter Mapes (see Daniel, "Thesaurus hymnologicus," Leipzig, 1855, iv. 288 *sqq.*). For other Latin poems that stand in the MSS. under Jacopone's name, see Tobler's list, "Ztschf.," iii. 187, and that of Böhmer, p. 156, No. 129 *sqq.* The opposite of the "Stabat mater dolorosa"—the "Stabat mater speciosa"—became more widely known through Ozanam. One of the Parisian MSS. actually contains the "Stabat mater dolorosa" twice, and, according to Gregorovius, "Gesch. der St. Rom." v. 613, *note*, it is included among Jacopone's poems in the Capucin monastery of Monte Santo, near Todi.

Page 151. In the case of the poem, "Udii una voce," too, Jacopone's authorship is not entirely free from doubt (see D'Ancona, p. 223, *note* 4). Sorio's and Nannucci's only authority is Tresatti. On the other hand, the *serventese*, "Al nome d'Iddio," is in Tobler's list.

Page 152. Jacopone's didactic poem begins with the words: "Perchè gli uomin domandano detti con brevitate, Favello per proverbii dicendo veritate. . . ." Sorio included it in the "Opuscoli religiosi," Modena, 1860, t. viii., corrected according to an early printed version. The editors erroneously print each verse as though it were two. Similar is the poem "De Septem Virtutibus," attributed to Henricus Septimellensis, in which each moral doctrine is likewise illustrated by some proverbial saying (relating to nature, mostly to the animal kingdom); similar, too, the "Parabolæ" of Alanus de Insulis.

Page 152. For a time Jacopone's poetry was (owing to Ozanam, Sorio, and Nannucci) too highly esteemed; this was due to the fact that several pieces were wrongly attributed to him. D'Ancona has definitively put a stop to this view, and assigned the poet his true position. The poem, "Dì, Maria dolce," is by Fra Giovanni Dominici (fifteenth century), see

D'Ancona, p. 468; the "Maria Vergine bella" is by L. Giustiniani, see *ib.*, p. 469. Nor do I doubt but that the poem "Chi Gesù vuole amare" (which was made known by Mortara and reprinted by Nannucci, "Man.," i. 392, and by Sorio, "Opusc.," iii.) belongs to the fifteenth century, too. This would dispose of the theory that certain passages of Dante and Petrarch are imitated from Jacopone (see D'Ancona, p. 194 *sq.*).

Page 153. For the two poems on Christ and the soul see Ozanam, *l.c.*, p. 135 *sqq.*, 140 *sqq.*, and 269. The best edition of the poem on the crucifixion is now that in D'Ancona's "Origini del Teatro," i. 142 *sqq.*, where will also be found information concerning Jacopone's other dialogues; they are enumerated in the "Nuova Antol.," *l.c.*, p. 216, *note* 2.

Page 155. That the performance in the Prato della Valle took place in 1244 was shown by Ebert, "Jahrb.," v. 51. Monaci and D'Ancona continue to give the date 1243.—For the origins of the drama, in general, see the exhaustive account in D'Ancona's "Origini," i. 19-88.

Page 155 *sq.* Monaci, "Appunti per la storia del teatro italiano: Uffizj drammatici dei Disciplinati dell' Umbria," in the "Riv. fil. rom.," i. 235 *sqq.*; ii. 29 *sqq.*—Seven of these dramatic *laude* are given by Monaci, *l.c.*; others by D'Ancona, i. 124 *sqq.* Another MS. containing fourteen (mostly dramatic) *laude*, in several cases identical with the ones contained in the collections employed by Monaci, was described by G. Mazzatinti, who published three of the pieces ("Giorn. fil. rom.," iii. 85 *sqq.*). The MS. coming from the Fraternita di S. Maria del Mercato, in Gubbio, belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. [See, too, G. Mazzatinti, "Poesie religiose del secolo xiv.," Bologna, 1881.] G. Rondoni, "Laudi drammatiche dei Disciplinati di Siena," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 273 *sqq.*, from a MS. of the year 1330; these appear somewhat unattractive, to judge from the specimens given.—For the Neapolitan MS. containing *laude* of Abruzzo, see Monaci, "Riv. fil. rom.," ii. 42. They are being published by Percopo in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," vii. 163, 345; * the final instalment appeared in vol. xviii. (1891), p. 215 *sqq.*, and an appendix was published in vol. xx. (1892), p. 379 *sqq.* G. Mazzoni and C. Appel, "Laudi Cortonesi del secolo xiii.," Bologna, 1890. E. Bettazzi, "Notizia di un laudario del sec. xiii.," Arezzo, 1890. The same scholar, "Laudi della città di Borgo S. Sepolcro," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital." (1891), xviii. 242 *sqq.* E. Monaci, "Annedoti per la storia letteraria dei laudesi, dei disciplinati e dei Bianchi nel medio evo," Roma, 1892 (from the "Rendiconti dell. Accad. dei Lincei"). *

Page 158. For the performance at Florence see D'Ancona, i. 88 *sqq.*

Page 159 *sqq*. Thirteenth century prose is treated in the third volume of Bartoli's "Storia lett.," Firenze, 1880.

Page 159. The passage from Boncompagno is given by Rockinger, "Quell. u. Erörter.," ix. 173. For specimens from Guido Faba's Italian letters see *ib*., p. 185 *sqq*. In one letter (p. 191), he says: "Quando vego la vostra splendiente persona, per la grande alegreça me par che sia in paradiso; sì me prende lo vostro amore, dona gensore sovra omne bella." The close has the appearance of being part of a canzone.

Page 159 *sq*. "Ricordi di una famiglia senese," ed. by N. Tommaseo ("Arch. stor. ital.," Appendice, vol. v., No. 20, p. 23 *sqq*.)—"Lettere volgari del sec. xiii. scritte da Senesi," ed. by C. Paoli and E. Piccolomini, Bologna, 1871. * "Lettere volgari del sec. xiii. a Geri e a Guccio Montanini," ed. by A. Lisini, Siena, 1889. *

Page 160. "Novellino." For the title see G. Biagi, "Le novelle antiche dei codici Panciatichiano-Palatino 138 e Laurenziano-Gaddiano 193," Firenze, 1880, p. cxxxix *sq*. The MSS. give no title, except the Cod. Panciatichi, which has: "Libro di novelle e di bel parlar gentile." This was adopted by Borghini. The title "Novellino," appeared first, according to Biagi, in the Milan edition of 1836.

Page 162 *sq*. A. D'Ancona, "Le Fonti del Novellino," first published in "Romania," ii. 285, iii. 164; then, with additions, under the more suitable title: "Del Novellino e delle sue fonti," in D'Ancona's "Studj di critica e storia lett.," Bologna, 1880, p. 219 *sqq*. In some cases it seems possible to determine the immediate source; as, for example, in the case of Nov. 11 (Cod. Panciat. 14), which tells of the physician and the jealous pupil, who put poison on the patient's tongue so that his death might give the lie to the master's science. This story is, as I think, taken direct from the introduction to the "Liber Ipocratis de infirmitatibus equorum," which is not mentioned by D'Ancona (see the work in the "Trattati di Mascalcia attribuiti ad Ippocrate," ed. by L. Barbieri, Bologna, 1865, p. 101 *sqq*.). Here the story stands in its true, original position, in order to show how Hippocrates came to study veterinary science, and it is clear how the author of the "Novellino" intentionally abbreviated the narrative, so as to preserve the anecdotic character prevailing throughout his collection. A phrase in Gualteruzzi's text: "col dito stremo li vi puose veleno," also shows that the tale is derived from the Latin text, which has "posuit vero discipulus tossicus private in estremum (*sic*) digiti sui," and not from the Italian translations printed by Barbieri in the same place (for they have "nela ponta del dito suo," and "in sommo del suo dito"); Gualteruzzi is here more original, too, than Panciatichi, which has "collo dito mignoro." In Gualteruzzi's text the

master is called Giordano, which name the novelist may have chosen as being that of Jordanus Ruffus, a famous veterinary surgeon of the time at the court of Frederick II.—Then, again, Nov. 18, in its original form (which is, in this case, as Bartoli rightly remarked, given by the "Cod. Panciatichi," No. 22), obviously goes back direct to the Pseudo-Turpinus (ed. Castets, cap. 7), so exactly do they agree. For the fact that Nov. 64 is probably taken direct from one of the Provençal lives of the troubadours, see A. Thomas, "Giorn. fil. rom.," iii. fasc. 2. p. 12 *sqq.*

Page 163. I do not agree with D. Carbone, who maintained ("Il Novellino ossia Libro di bel parlar gentile," Firenze, Barbèra, 1868, p. v) that the tales are merely sketches, which the narrator had put down as a starting-point, with the intention of developing and supplementing them in the recital; in any case, this theory would fit in only with the very short tales, by no means with all of them.

Page 164. Bartoli's arguments in favour of a plurality of authors ("Stor. d. lett. ital.," Firenze, 1880, vol. iii., pp. 186 *sqq.*, and 232) have already been confuted by D'Ancona. For the date and author, cf. D'Ancona, "Studi," p. 243 *sqq.* With regard to the language, the Pisan elements are too sporadic, even in the first part of the Cod. Panciatichi, to be due to the author. The "Novellino" was first edited by C. Gualteruzzi: "Le Ciento novelle antike," Bologna, Benedetti, 1525. Vincenzo Borghini edited the book in 1572 (Firenze, Giunti) in a different form: the chief points of variance being that seventeen of the tales are replaced by others, and that an eighteenth is added, as Gualteruzzi's first tale is regarded as the prologue and does not count. D'Ancona proved that Gualteruzzi's text alone gives the genuine form, and assumed that Borghini's variations were derived from other (partly later) sources, and do not represent any one MS. The correctness of this theory was confirmed when Guido Biagi discovered Borghini's papers, in which he himself gives an account of the origin of his alterations (see the Introduction to Borghini's publication, mentioned above, and especially, p. 245 *sqq.* in the body of the book). Borghini adopted the principle of cutting out everything connected with religion, and consequently made alterations of his own, now and again, without heeding any source. This was characteristic of the time, the period of the Catholic reaction, which witnessed a similar process of mutilation in the case of the "Decamerone." To obtain a correct idea of the book, we have, therefore, now to take into consideration only Gualteruzzi's text, which was reprinted by Michele Colombo in 1825: "Le cento novelle antiche, secondo l'edizione del 1525," Milano, Tosi [another edition, Firenze, Mazzini e Gaston, 1867]. All the other editions

(for the bibliography of which see Biagi) reproduce Borghini's text, or use that of Gualteruzzi, but with new and arbitrary changes.

Page 164 *sq.* The "Cod. Panciatichi" was edited in its entirety by Biagi; for the way in which the MS. is put together see p. cxxv. *sqq.*—Bartoli made his conjecture concerning the priority of the longer tales of the Cod. Panciatichi in "I primi due sec.," p. 288 *sqq.*, and then, with fresh arguments, but more reservedly, in the "Stor. lett.," iii. 190 *sqq.* Here, on p. 201 *sq.*, we read: "mi pare che non sia fuori di ogni probabilità il congetturare che un tal testo ci rappresenti lo stato anteriore della novella, compendiata poi. . . . In questa opinione ci conferma un altro fenomeno . . ." I quote these words because I have been accused of having given a misleading account of Bartoli's opinion. In the tale of the old horse (Gualt. 52, Panciat. 150) the shorter version is more effective by reason of its elegance; thus we have in the phrase "Li giudici si adunaro e videro la *petizione* del cavallo" a happy expression which does not occur in the Panciatichi version. And is the latter really free from any superfluous details? Note how in the end the same thing is repeated three times! Bartoli shows admirably (p. 195 *sqq.*) that in the case of Nov. 18 the genuine and original form is contained in the Cod. Panciat., No. 22, which is confirmed by a comparison with the source mentioned above (the "Turpinus"); but the tale is included in the collection of the first portion of the Cod. Panciat., and does not prove anything with regard to the second portion, this being, as Biagi showed, entirely independent.—If Gualteruzzi's is the original text, this does not of course imply that the MS. printed in 1525 is altogether free from emendations on the part of the copyist.—Bartoli asks how the compiler of the MS. Panciat., if he had the Gualteruzzi text before him, could ever have come to change the order of the tales in so strange a manner. That, of course, I do not know; but does this circumstance justify us in assuming a different source? The same question might be put with regard to the passages from Sidrach, collected in the Cod. Panciat.; here, too, I am unable to discover the principle and purpose of the new arrangement. Besides, Bartoli's conjectures do not throw any light on the arrangement of the Cod. Panciat. either. Somebody must always have been the first to conceive the rearrangement of the tales. How and why he did it, it is difficult to say; who can fathom all the caprices of copyists and compilers?

Page 166 *sq.* "Conti di antichi cavalieri," edited by Fanfani, Firenze, 1881, and then again, faithfully according to the MS., by P. Papa in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iii. 197 *sqq.*; * see the same journal, viii. 487, for an article by Papa: "Un codice

ignorato dei" "Conti di antichi cavalieri." * For the source of one of the stories in the "Fouque de Candie," see Bartoli, "I primi due sec.," p. 292. P. Meyer announces in the "Romania," xiv. 162, that he has discovered the sources of several of the tales and will publish them soon. For a Franco-Italian version see above, close of note to p. 118.

Page 167. "Sette Savi": Domenico Comparetti, "Intorno al libro dei sette savi di Roma," Pisa, 1865. D'Ancona's edition appeared in Pisa, 1864. Varnhagen, "Eine italienische Prosaversion der Sieben Weisen Meister," Berlin, 1881. The Latin text, discovered by Mussafia, is printed in the "Wiener Sitzungsber.," Phil. Hist. Cl. LVII., 94 *sqq*. The two translations of this text: "Il libro dei sette savi di Roma," ed. by A. Cappelli, Bologna, 1865, and "Libro dei setti savi di Roma," alla Libreria Dante in Firenze, 1883, edited by F. Roediger. For the Venetian poem, discovered and edited by Rajna, see ["Storia di Stefano figliuolo d'un imperatore di Roma," Bologna, 1880]. On the genealogy of the Italian versions, see Rajna's admirable paper, "Una versione in ottava rima del libro dei sette savi," in the "Romania," vii. 22, 369; x. 1 (*e.g*., vii. 372 *sqq*.). For the literature of the Seven Wise Masters, in general, see too: Mussafia, "Ueber die Quelle des altfrz. Dolopathos," in the "Wiener Sitzungsber.," xlviii., and the same scholar's "Beiträge zur Lit. der Sieben Weisen Meister," *ib*. lvii. 37 *sqq*. For the Oriental versions, see Comparetti, "Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibad," Milano, 1869; and, for the Western versions, G. Paris' Introduction to "Deux Redactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome," Paris, 1876 (in reality 1877).

Page 169. For the "Tavola Rotonda," see Nannucci, "Man.," ii. 156 *sqq*. Some further particulars concerning the Riccard. MS. and passages from it will be found in Polidori's edition of the more recent "Tavola Rotonda" in the Laurenziana (Bologna, 1864), i., p. xl *sqq*.; ii., p. 239 *sqq*. For information concerning other portions printed in various places see Zambrini, "Op. volg." * "Il Tristano riccardiano," edito e illustrato da E. J. Parodi, Bologna, 1896. *

Page 169. For Guido delle Colonne see A. Joly, "Benoît de Sainte-More, etc.," i. 470 *sqq*.; Mussafia, "Sulle versioni italiane della storia trojana," Vienna, 1871 (from the "Sitzungsber., lxvii.); R. Barth, "Guido de Columna," Dissertation, Leipzig, 1877. * E. Monaci, "Di Guido della Colonna trovadore e della sua patria," Roma, 1892 (Estr. dai Rendic. dell' Accad. dei Lincei); V. di Giovanni, "Guido delle Colonne giudice di Messina," etc. (Rendic. della Accad. dei Lincei, serie V., iii. 3). *

Page 169. * E. Gorra, "Testi inediti di storia troiana," Torino, 1887; H. Morf, "Notes pour servir à l'hist. de la

légende de Troie en Italie" ("Romania," xxi. 18 *sqq.*, 88 *sqq.*, xxiv. 174 *sqq.*). *

Page 170. The "Fatti di Cesare," edited, according to the Sienese MS., by L. Banchi, Bologna, 1863. Of the version in the Riccardiana only a few passages have been published by Nannucci, "Man.," i. 407, ii. 172, and by Banchi, p. xxxv. The Riccard. MS., 2814, bears the date April 28, 1313, and appears to be the autograph, to judge from the omission of words that did not occur at once to the translator; this was assumed already by Nannucci. That the text contained the beginning of the romance, too, is probable, because the first 160 pages of the MS. are missing (see Banchi, p. lx). The French original, which should be carefully distinguished from Jehan de Tuim's "Hist. de Julius Cesar," and from the poetical version of this by Jacot de Forest, is contained in a large number of MSS.; cf. Mussafia, "Jahrb.," vi., 109 *sqq.*, Settegast, "Giorn. fil. rom.," ii. 176; Stengel, "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," v. 174; Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 48, *note* 4. The MS. of S. Mark, which was used by Banchi and belonged to the Gonzaga (p. xxi.), is certainly identical with No. 12 of the inventory dated 1407 ("Romania," ix. 507). The French romance is not printed; but long passages from it, which are given by Gellrich, "Die Intelligenza" (Breslau, 1883), enable us to compare it with the Italian texts. That of the Riccard. appears to be nothing but a literal translation. If the MS. of St. Mark gave the exact original, it would follow that the "Fatti" are derived both from it and from the Riccard. text; but the amalgamation would be without any system, and is therefore improbable. The French original was undoubtedly constituted somewhat differently, seeing that even the Riccard. text, which mostly corresponds word for word, now and again differs from the MS. of St. Mark, and Mussafia is probably right in his assumption that both the Italian versions are translated from the French independently of each other.—We must now add P. Meyer's article, "Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne" ("Romania," xiv. 1 *sqq.*), which contains an enumeration of the MSS. of the French original, an analysis and a number of extracts. The real title was probably "Li fait des Romains," and the narrative was intended to go down to Domitian; but only the first book, on Julius Cæsar, was written. Already Brunetto Latini availed himself of it. As for the relation between the two Italian versions and the French original, Meyer (p. 32) confirms Mussafia's opinion. * C. G. Parodi, "La storia di Cesare nella letteratura italiana dei primi secoli" (in the "Studi di fil. rom.," iv. 322 *sqq.*) *

Page 170. "Dodici Conti Morali," ed. by Zambrini, Bologna, 1862; they are discussed by Köhler, "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," i. 365 *sqq.*

Page 171. ["Chronichetta Pisana," ed. by E. Piccolomini, Pisa, 1877, "per nozze Teza." I am acquainted with it only from the notice in the "Rassegna settimanale," iii. 210 *sqq.*].

Page 171. The latest edition of Spinello is that of Vigo and Dura: "Annali di Matteo Spinelli di Giovenazzo," Napoli, Dura, 1872. W. Bernardi, "Matteo di Giovinazzo, eine Fälschung des 16. Jahrh.," Berlin, 1868 ("Programm" of the Louisenstädt. Gymn.). Camillo Minieri Riccio, "I notamenti di M. Sp. da Giovinazzo difesi ed illustrati," Napoli, 1870; the same scholar: "Ultima confutazione agli oppositori di M. Sp.," *ib.*, 1875. [B. Capasso, "Sui diurnali di M. Sp.," Napoli, 1872].

Page 172. Scheffer-Boichorst's paper on the Malespini appeared first in Sybel's "Histor. Zeitschr.," then in "Florentiner Studien," Leipzig, 1874, p. 3 *sqq.* Todeschini, "Scritti su Dante," Vicenza, 1872, i. 364-372 (the author had died in 1869, and the article was written in 1853). Doubts concerning the authenticity of the work were felt as early as the sixteenth century (see also Cesare Paoli, "Studi sulle fonti della storia fiorentina," v., in the "Arch. stor. ital.," ser. iii., t. 21, p. 451 *sqq*). The points made by Gino Capponi, "Storia della repubblica di Firenze" (Firenze, 1875), i. 661 *sqq.*, are of slight importance. Paoli held that Malespini might have used some other old Italian source, in addition to Villani. R. Renier, "Liriche di Fazio degli Uberti" (Firenze, 1883) p. xvii., *note* 3, thinks that, though Malespini's chronicle was composed later than Villani's, it is, nevertheless, earlier than the date assumed by Scheffer-B., and mentions a MS. in the Ashburnham Library, which was unknown till then, and is supposed to have been written before 1355. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v. 7, *note*, now doubts Scheffer-B.'s result, quotes Malespini as an historical source, and says that the researches of a certain Dr. Lami will throw light on the matter. * Vittorio Lami, "Di un compendio inedito della cronica di G. Villani nelle sue relazioni con la storia fiorentina Malespiniana," Firenze, 1890. *

Page 172. "Chronica Fr. Salimbene Parmensis," Parma, 1857 ("Monumenta historica ad provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia," iii.), badly printed from a mutilated copy. For the omissions, cf. especially Fr. Novati, in the "Giorn stor. d. lett. ital.," i. 38 *sqq.*, and for Salimbene the fine work of A. Dove: "Die Doppelchronik von Reggio u. die Quellen Salimbene's," Leipzig, 1873. * Emil Michael, "Salimbene u. seine Chronik," Innsbruck, 1889. *

Page 175. Sundby writes "Latino," because the name occurs twice in this form in the "Tesoretto" (i. xx.) But this does not prove that he did not call himself "Latini," too, according to Florentine usage. The documents published by Del Lungo mostly give "Burnectus Latinus," but the late ones (xxvii.

xxx. xxxi.), also "Burnectus Latini." Villani appears already to have written "Latini," and this was the form always employed later. For the matter of that, if we are to be so ultra-precise with regard to the name, we should write Burnetto, not Brunetto; for the former appears regularly in the documents and in the earliest MSS. of the "Tesoretto." The whole question appears to me pedantic.—Now R. Renier, too, decides in favour of the form "Latini," as following the Florentine usage in the matter of family names (see the Introduction to his translation of Thor Sundby's "Della vita e delle opere di Br. Latini," pp. ix.-xvi.), and rightly prefers also the pronunciation "Brunetto," in spite of the frequency of the other form in early times.

Page 176. The view held by Zannoni (p. xiii.) and by Sundby (p. 12; in the translation, p. 9) that Brunetto returned to Florence after the battle of Montaperti and was not banished till then, is not reconcilable with the narrative at the beginning of the "Tesoretto." When he says in the "Trésor" that he was expelled with the Guelfs, this may refer to a decree of exile *in absentia;* see on this point Del Lungo, in Sundby-Renier, p. 212, *note.*

Page 176. Giov. Villani (viii. 10) gives the date of Brunetto's death as 1294; but this is the Florentine year, which lasted till March 25th, 1295. Brunetto's biography in Zannoni, "Il Tesoretto e il Favoletto di Ser Brunetto Latini," Firenze, 1824, Introduction; Fauriel, in the "Hist. litt. de la France," xx. 276 *sqq.*; Thor Sundby, "Brunetto Latino Levnet og Skrifter," Kjobenhaven, 1869 (translated by Rod. Renier: "Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini," monografia di Thor Sundby, Firenze, 1884)—of great importance for the indication of the sources of Brunetto's works. * Umberto Marchesini, "Due studi biografici su Brunetto Latini," Venezia, 1887; the same: "Brunetto Latini, notaio," Verona, 1890. *—An autograph document proving Brunetto to have been a notary at Paris on September 15th, 1263, is said to be published in the "Rassegna italiana," anno v., vol. i., p. 360 *sqq.* (see "Riv. Crit.," ii. 126). That Brunetto in April of the year 1270 (1271 according to Pisan reckoning) came to Pisa as notary of Charles of Anjou's Vicar, and as his legate, is clear from Muratori, "Script.," xxiv. 674. And here we see, too, that the Vicar was Johannes Brittaldi, and not William of Monfort, as Zannoni and Sundby conjectured. Brunetto's public life at Florence is treated admirably by Del Lungo in the first appendix to Renier's translation of Sundby, p. 201 *sqq.* (this paper first appeared in the "Arch. stor. ital."), where several errors are disproved, notably the exaggerated idea that had been formed of Brunetto's political importance; *ib.*, p. 214 *sqq.* are printed thirty-five documents dealing with his participation in the meetings of the

councils from 1282 till 1292.—The "Trésor" was edited by Chabaille: "Li livres dou Trésor par Brunetto Latini," Paris, 1863 ("Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France").—The indications concerning the sources of the "Trésor" I have given according to Sundby; that Brunetto, for the historical portion of the enlarged version, availed himself of Martino Polono, is shown by Hartwig, "Quell. u. Forsch.," ii. 213. That this second version is by Brunetto himself is at least very probable, among other reasons for the spirit it expresses; this was P. Paris' assumption, but it is true that doubts may be urged against it (see Mussafia in Sundby-Renier, p. 858 *sq.*).

Page 179. The "Oculus Pastoralis" in Muratori, "Antiq. ital.," iv. 93 *sqq.* A. Mussafia, "Sul testo del Tesoro di Br. Latini," Vienna, 1869, reprinted in Sundby-Renier, p. 281 *sqq.*, see especially pp. 370-374.

Page 180. The MS. of the Riccardiana gives Ristoro's work in its true form, and is perhaps the autograph. A specimen from it is printed in Nannucci, ii. 193, but it is unreliably edited; for example, the supposed verse from Dante (p. 201, note 9, probably introduced by Nannucci himself) is wanting in the MS. (see Narducci's remarks in "La Composizione del Mondo di Ristoro d'Arezzo," Roma, 1859, p. lxxx. *sq.*). The beginning of the Riccard. MS. is given by Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 325 *sqq.* Narducci's edition of it (reprinted at Milan in 1864, the publisher being Daelli) is based on a fifteenth century MS., in which the dialectical colouring was suppressed (cf. Mussafia, "Jahrb.," x. 114 *sqq.*, and xi., close of part i.).

Page 181. Brunetto's "Rettorica" was printed at Rome in 1546, and at Naples in 1851. I have not seen it; according to Zannoni ("Tesoretto," p. xxxviii) it was dedicated to the Archbishop of Salerno, Matteo della Porta—the person at whose request Guido delle Colonne wrote his "Hist. Troj." Renier, in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iv. 421, doubts whether the "Rettorica" is rightly attributed to Brunetto, seeing that it is largely based on the portion of the "Trésor" that deals with rhetoric.—[Paolo Orosio, "Delle storie contra i pagani libri vii., volg. di Bono Giamboni," ed. by Fr. Tassi, Firenze, 1849. —Flavio Veggio, "Dell' arte della guerra," ed. by Fr. Fontani, Firenze, 1815.] For Guidotto, see Giamboni's treatise, "Della miseria dell' uomo," etc., Firenze, 1836, ed. by Tassi, who refers to Manni. Nannucci (ii. 116) has only copied Tassi (or Manni?). See, further, Zambrini, "Op. volg.," 500, and Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 122 *sq.* The work has been edited, among others, by B. Gamba, "Frate Guidotto da Bologna, Il Fiore di Rettorica," Venezia, 1821. Manni's edition gives, according to Bartoli, a different version, as do several MSS. That the work is derived

from the Rhetoric, "ad Herennium," and not from Cicero's "De Inventione," was pointed out by Nannucci, ii. 115. On the subject of the somewhat unintelligible words, in Guidotto's Introduction, concerning a compendium on rhetoric by Virgil, see Comparetti, "Virgilio nel M. E.," i. 178. For an allegorical Bestiary, attributed to Guidotto of Bologna in a Neapolitan MS., see "Propugnatore," xiv. 2°, p. 162.—A. Gazzani, "Frate Guidotto da Bologna, Studio storico critico" (Bologna, 1884), endeavours to show that the work was really written by Guidotto, seeing that, of the many MSS., only a single one (Riccard., 2338, belonging to the end of the fourteenth century) indicates Bono Giamboni as the author; besides, Giamboni was scarcely old enough for some one writing before 1266 to be able to father a work of his. The new text published by Gazzani (p. 63 *sqq.*) is, "Proemi sopra varie maniere di dire," which in the majority of MSS. follows Guidotto's work; they are moral axioms, which might serve as an introduction to speeches. Is the "Libro del Fiore de' filosofi e di molti savi," which is contained in a MS. of the Bibl. Naz. at Florence, and which G. considers unedited, and is inclined to ascribe to Guidotto too (p. 72), different from the well-known "Fiore di rettorica," long published? To judge from the description of the MSS. given by Gazzani, the title of Guidotto's book was never "Fiore di rettorica," but "Rettorica di Tullio," or "Rettorica nuova di Tullio"; so that this name is perhaps of Gamba's invention.—* Felice Tocco, "Il fior di Rettorica e le sue principali redazioni secondo i codici fiorentini" (in the "Giorn. stor. di lett. ital.," xiv. 337-364). *—["Cicerone, Le tre orazioni dette dinanzi a Cesare, volg. da Br. Latini," ed. by Rezzi, Milano, 1832; also Napoli, 1850.—"La prima orazione di M. Tullio Cicerone contra Catilina, volgar. da ser Br. Latini," ed. by Manuzzi, Firenze, 1834.] A specimen from the latter is given by Nannucci, ii. 295 *sqq.* The passages from Sallust are in Nannucci, ii. 269 *sqq.* For the rest, even the corresponding passages in the "Trésor" are not taken direct from Sallust, but from the O. Fr. "Faits des romains," as was shown by P. Meyer, "Romania," xiv. 24. However, to judge from the short specimen given by Meyer, the Italian text follows Brunetto, and not his French source.—The latest edition of the "Etica di Aristotile compendiata da ser Br. Latini" is that of Venezia, 1844. In some MSS. this "Etica" is attributed to a certain Taddeo l'Ippocratista (the physician) of Florence or of Pescia, and Dante appears to allude to it, disparagingly, in the "Convivio," i. 10 (see Giuliani's note on this passage, and Sundby-Renier, p. 140 *sqq.*). This makes it puzzling to establish the connection of the work with the "Trésor."—Bono Giamboni's "Della forma di onesta vita di Martino vescovo dumense" was last edited by Gamba, Venezia, 1830, who made the derivation of the work clear.

Page 182. "Cato:" In Eberardus' "Laborintus," i. 71 (Leyser, "Hist. poet. et poem. medii ævi," p. 800) we read: *Inde tenet* (*i.e.*, the schoolmaster) *parvos lacerata fronte Catones; Illos discipuli per metra bina legunt.*—A Tobler, "Die altvenezianische Uebersetzung der Sprüche des Dionysius Cato," Berlin, 1883 (from the "Abhandl. der Berlin, Akad. d. W."), with an admirable introduction (mainly philological).—"Libro di Cato, o tre volgarizzamenti del Libro di Catone," ed. by M. Vannucci, Milano, 1829. Two of them are probably those of the Laurent. MSS. mentioned by Biagi ("Le antiche novelle," p. xcii.). For other later Italian translations, cf. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 93, *note*, and Tobler, *l.c.*, p. 3 *note*.

Page 182 *sq.* "Fiore di filosofi e di molti savi," ed. by A. Cappelli, Bologna, 1865. That it is not by Brunetto was shown by Cappelli (p. xvi.); see, too, D'Ancona, "Studi di critica," p. 259, and Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 216. For the points of difference between the versions, cf. Bartoli, p. 219. Very different, again, was the collection from which Mone published the sayings of Secundus, in the "Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit," viii., 323 *sqq.* (according to a parchment MS., dated 1475, privately owned at Carlsruhe). The definitions according to a Riccard. MS. as given by Bartoli, "Il Libro di Sidrach," Bologna, 1868, p. xxvi. *sq.*, tally with the "Fiore," save that some questions and answers are missing. Those portions of the "Fiore" which are contained in the Panciat. collection of the "Novelle antiche" (Nos. 86 *sqq.*) belong to the version that was published by Cappelli. In Mone's version the sayings of Secundus are more numerous, and often differ considerably. * Herm. Varnhagen, "Ueber di 'Fiori e vita di filosofi ed altri savii ed imperatori,' nebst dem italienischen Texte," Erlangen, 1893. * For the origin and development of the curious practice of question and answer exemplified in this section of Secundus, see W. Wilmanns, "Disputatio Pippini cum Albino" (in the "Ztschf. f. dtschs. Alterthum," Neue Folge, ii. 530 *sqq.*). A Parisian MS. contains an O. Fr. work, "D'un philosophe ki fu apieles Secont" (see "Gui de Cambrai, Barlaam u. Josaphat," ed. by H. Zotenberg and P. Meyer, Stuttgart, 1864, p. 332). The little story of Socrates and the two wives is contained in S. Girolamo's "Adversus Jovinianum," i. 48; but I do not think that the "Fiore" took it direct from this source.

Page 184. Albertanus' "Liber consolationis" is, in the MSS., dated April and May, 1246. In the codex of Pistoja Ciampi read: . . . *conpuose neli anni* 1246 *del mese d'abrile, ed imagoregato in su questo volgare neli anni* 1275 . . ., where the monstrous word *imagoregato* gave the editor much trouble. We must read: *d'abrile e di magio, regato* . . . ; from which it becomes clear that this treatise, at any rate, was rendered into

Italian by Soffredi in 1275 (to which year the date of the translation should be altered above, in the body of the book). The "De arte loquendi" was newly edited, with accurate indications concerning the sources, by Sundby in the Appendix to "Brunetto Latinos Levnet," p. lxxxv. *sqq.* (in the Italian trans. p. 475 *sqq.*), and again by the same scholar: "Albertani Brixiensis liber consolationis et consilii," Havniæ, 1873.—"Dei Trattati morali di Albertano da Brescia, volgarizzamento fatto nel 1268 da Andrea da Grosseto," ed. by Selmi, Bologna, 1873 (at the end of each treatise is inserted the year, the name of the translator and the place at which he is staying—Paris). "Volgarizzamento dei tratt. morali di Alb. giudice di Brescia da Soffredi del Grazia," ed. by Seb. Ciampi, Firenze, 1832, faithfully according to the MS. The partial agreement of the two versions was noted by Selmi, p. xv. Concerning three other somewhat later translations, see Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 96.

Page 186. Egidio Romano, "Del Reggimento de' Principi, volgarizzamento trascritto nel 1288," ed. by Fr. Corrazini, Firenze, 1858.—An imitation of Egidio's work (but belonging to the fourteenth century) is, as Mussafia showed, the treatise of Fra Paolo Minorita, in the Venetian dialect, entitled, "De Regimine Rectoris" (edited by Mussafia, Vienna, Firenze, 1868). If the book is addressed to Marino Badoer, Duke of Crete, it was begun between 1313 and 1315; in any case the work must have been composed between 1313 and 1322, as the schism of the Empire is mentioned in Chap. 68. In addition to the later Bishop of Pozzuoli, there was at that time another Fra Paolo Minorita, who made peace at Padua on March 2nd, 1323, and died shortly after at Trent (see "Cortusiorum Historia de Novitatibus Paduae," iii. 2).

Page 186. "Il Tesoro di Br. Latini, volgar. da Bono Giamboni," ed. by L. Carrer, Venezia, 1839. Now there is the new edition of L. Gaiter, Bologna, 1878 *sqq.* For the text and its surprising divergencies according to the various MSS., see A. Mussafia, "Sul testo del Tesoro di Br. Latini," Vienna, 1869, reprinted in Sundby-Renier, p. 281 *sqq.* Doubts concerning the attribution of the work to Giamboni are expressed by Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iii. 83 *sq.*—For similar doubts in the case of the "Giardino della consolazione," see *ib.*, p. 116, and of the "Introduzione," *ib.*, p. 100 *sq.* Some scholars have attributed the latter to Dom. Cavalca. Bartoli (p. 107), in common with others, regards it as a translation from the Latin; but no such original is known. Giamboni appears as *giudice ordinario* of the "Sesto" of Por S. Piero in a document dated March 13th, 1262 (see "Riv. crit.," iii., 95). * A. D'Ancona, "Il tesoro di Br. Latini versificato," Roma, 1889. G. Rua, "Un altra tra-

duzione italiana del 'Tesoro' di B. Latini per opera di Celio Malespini," in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," xvi., 432 *sqq.* *

Page 192. The portion of the "Roman de la Rose" written by Jehan de Meung often goes back to the treatises of Alanus de Insulis. The verses on the dwelling of Fortuna (6657-6814) are simply translated from the "Anticlaudianus," vii., 8 and 9; and the beginning of viii. is also subsequently made use of. Verses 16827-20601 are largely based on the "Planctus Naturæ"; the fundamental notion, that man alone, among all creatures, is disobedient and ungrateful towards Nature, is taken from Alanus, who fills a folio page (in the "Alani Opera," ed. E. de Vich, Antverpiæ, 1654, p. 294), with the same matter which, owing to the loquacious style and the digressions, occupies well-nigh 3,800 verses in Jehan's poem. The excommunication of the Genius goes back to the close of the "Planctus Naturæ."

Page 192. "Il Fiore, poème italien du XIII^e^ siècle," ed. by F. Castets, Montpellier and Paris, 1881. The author is a notary (Ser Durante), and can, therefore, not be Dante da Majano, much less Dante Alighieri; and the passages in Castets dealing with this matter and drawing impious parallels between the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Commedia," lose their point. Borgognoni and Renier (see "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iv. 424 *sq.*) saw in the "Ser Durante" not the name of the author, but the allegorical name of the lover (= *Costante*); see, against this, D'Ancona, "Varietà storiche e letterarie," Milano, 1885, serie ii., p. 23, *note*, and *ib.*, p. 1 *sqq.*, for the "Fiore" in general; cf. also the "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1886, p. 234 *sqq.*

Page 193. A minute description of feminine beauty, like that of Brunetto's Natura, only far more detailed and therefore in worse taste, will be found in Alanus's "De Planctu Naturæ" (p. 282), again with reference to Natura; and in the "Anticlaudianus," i. 7, in connection with Prudentia. Such enumerations of the hair, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, nose, etc., were usual in the O. Fr. romances.

Page 195 *sq.* For the relation between the "Tesoretto" and the "Trésor," see further particulars in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," iv. 390 *sq.* Brunetto, by the way, called the poem "Tesoro" in two passages where he named it; the title "Tesoretto," given to distinguish it from the "Trésor," was probably adopted when the latter had been translated into Italian. The poem was newly edited by B. Wiese, according to the MSS., with an introduction dealing with these and with the language, in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 236 *sqq.* See on this Mussafia, in the "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1884, p. 24 *sqq.*; * see, too, Wiese himself, in the appendix to the "Pro-

gramm der städt. Ober-Realschule zu Halle," Halle, 1894. * Wiese, *l.c.*, published also the "Favolello," a poetic epistle addressed to Rustico di Filippo. Del Furia ("Atti dell' Accad. della Crusca," Firenze, 1829, ii. 246 *sqq.*) proved that the "Pataffio," a *fatrasia* or *frottola*, which is for the most part unintelligible, is not by Brunetto, but belongs to the fifteenth century. Ch. Nisard ("Journal des Savants," 1880, p. 54 *sqq.*, and 83 *sqq.*) tried to show that the piece was by Burchiello; but he was refuted by A. Borgognoni in the "Rassegna settimanale" of October 3rd, 1880 (the article was reprinted in the "Antologia della nostra critica letteraria moderna," ed. by L. Morandi, Città di Castello, 1885, p. 377 *sqq.*). The "Pataffio" cannot have been written before 1462, and Burchiello died in 1448.

Page 196. It is said that, in the meantime, Thomas has discovered also the object of the journey of Francesca da Barberino to France: cf. "Romania," xiii. 451, *note*; * see Thomas, "Lettres latines inédites de Fr. da Barberino," in "Romania," xvi. 73-91, and "Henri VII. et Fr. da Barberino," *ib.*, p. 571 *sq.* * Some particulars concerning Francesco's later stay at Florence were published from documents by Novati, "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," vi. 399 *sqq.*

Page 196. Francesco da Barberino, "I documenti d'amore," ed. by Federico Ubaldini, Roma, 1640. "Del reggimento e costumi di donna," ed. by Manzi, Roma, 1815, and far better by C. Baudi di Vesme, Bologna, 1875. For the poet, see Antognoni, "Le glosse ai Documenti d'amore," in the "Giorn. di fil. rom.," iv. 78 *sqq.*, and especially A. Thomas's excellent work, "Francesco da Barberino e la littérature provençale en Italie au moyen âge," Paris, 1883. From Thomas I have taken the chronology of the works and many other details. Renier's objections ("Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iii. 97 *sqq.*) appear to me of little account.—Thomas devotes special attention, too, to the commentary of the "Documenti." However, what he says (p. 70) to explain Francesco's observation that the work connected with the commentary occupied him sixteen years, now again appears to me very doubtful. Thomas (*ib.*, p. 68) places the composition of the commentary about the year 1314 or 1315, certainly before 1318; but the title the author gives himself at the beginning proves nothing for the composition of the entire work; he might have subsequently made additions from time to time. The passage where he speaks of Dante's "Commedia" (fol. 63b, given by Thomas, p. 192), appears to me impossible in the year 1315, and was probably not written before 1321, that is, not before the publication of the entire "Commedia." It may, however, still be correct that the work occupied sixteen years: the passage which speaks of Henry VII. as still living

was written in 1313; it is true that on fol. 24 and even earlier, the sixteen years are mentioned; but this may be a later addition—we know what Petrarch and Boccaccio, for example, did in this direction.—For the Provençal Court of Love in Sir Thomas Phillipps' MS. as the probable model of Francesco, see Thomas, p. 64 *sqq*. Such meetings for a Court of Love occur also in the "Roman de la Rose," 11198 *sqq*., and at the end of Andreas Capellanus's "Amatoria," this latter resembling the one in Francesco more closely.

Page 199. Borgognoni discusses the *donna* in the "Studi d'erudizione e d'arte" (Bologna, 1877), i. 239 *sqq*. Renier, *l.c.*, p. 95, assumes that the "Intelligenza" appears in a canzone of Francesco's too.

Page 199. Of the "Intelligenzia" Fr. Trucchi first published a fragment in the "Poesie inedite," i.; then the whole was edited by Ozanam, "Documents inédits," p. 321 *sqq*. Further, Carbone, "La Cronaca fiorentina di Dino Compagni e l'Intelligenza," Firenze, 1868. A reprint of Ozanam's edition was published by the house of Daelli at Milan in 1863. Finally, P. Gellrich, "Die Intelligenza, ein altital. Gedicht," Breslau, 1883; this edition, too, is faulty; * (see the corrections made by E. Kölbing in the "Archiv. f. d. Stud. d. neueren Spr.," lxxxvi. 1). *

Page 200. For the early descriptions of palaces, cf., for example, Gregorovius, "Gesch. der Stadt Rom.," iii. 563; see, too, D'Ancona's observation in Del Lungo's "Dino Compagni," i. 477 [this is said to be contained also in the "Nuova Antol." of February, 1872, which number I have not now at my disposal].

Page 200. The history of Cæsar in the "Intelligenzia" was held by Nannucci to be taken from the version in the Riccard. MS. L. Banchi, in the "Fatti di Cesare," p. xlvi, opposes Nannucci's view, merely because two stanzas of the "Intelligenzia" are derived from a portion of the book which is not contained in the Riccard. MS.; therefore, he thought, the source must be the "Fatti," and with this explanation he was satisfied. The proper deduction to make was that the version of the Riccard. had originally been complete (the beginning of the codex being lost), and is perhaps still complete in some MSS. Besides, the passage on which Banchi based his decision cannot be from the "Fatti," seeing that it gives more of the French original than this work. For the entirely unsuccessful examination of the sources made by Gellrich, see Mussafia, "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1884, p. 155; Mussafia, too, is now inclined to assume that the source of the "Intell." is contained in some Italian version similar to the one in the Riccard MS.

Page 202. Under another name, the "Noys" of Alanus de

Insulis corresponds exactly to the Averrhoistic Intelligence (he makes a feminine disyllabic word of the *νοῦς*).

Page 202. For the date of the signature in the Cod. Magliab., see Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica," i. (Firenze, 1879), p. 434. Ozanam, Carbone and Grion ("Propugnatore," ii. 2°, 274 *sqq.*), believed that the attribution of the work to Compagni was correct. Nannucci, Bartoli and Borgognoni ("Studi d'erudizione," i. 123 *sqq.*) opposed it. D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," ser. ii., t. 8., p. 561 *sqq.*, rightly declared this opposition to be groundless. Del Lungo, *l.c.*, pp. 432-504, gives the history of the entire dispute concerning the "Intelligenzia," and discusses the writings in question. For the rest, he tries to prove, with that terrible prolixity to which we are accustomed from him, that the poem is by Dino Compagni; but he adds nothing in the way of novelty or improvement to what D'Ancona had said concisely and to the point; for the supposed agreement between passages in the chronicle and the short poems of Dino (p. 484 *sqq.*) works out at nothing. This kind of thing is intended to establish the identity of the author, and the same Del Lungo considers the striking and literal agreement between passages in Dino and Villani to be merely due to chance!

Page 203. For Guido's marriage, see Del Lungo, *l.c.*, p. 1099 *sqq.*, who shows admirably how marriages consummated long after the agreement were of frequent occurrence, and that the expressions *dar moglie* and *far parentado* signify only the agreement, not the marriage itself. For the probable year of Guido's birth, see *ib.*, p. 1111 *sqq.*

Page 204. Niccola Muscia's sonnet is contained in Arnone's "Le Rime di Guido Cavalcanti," Firenze, 1886, p. 86 (cf. Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," i. 1098 *sq.*, and Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iv. 165 *sqq.*).

Page 204. Arnone, *l.c.*, p. lxxvii, hesitates, without sufficient reason, as to whether the ballad "Perch' io non spero" was composed at Sarzana (cf. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iv. 159 *note*, and Ercole, "Guido Cavalcanti," Livorno, 1885, p. 406 *sq.*—The exact date of Guido's death, which is not without importance for the chronology of Dante's life, too, was discovered by Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," ii. 98, *note* 26; it is August 27, or 28, 1300.—Guido's poems were edited by Ant. Cicciaporci, "Rime di Guido Cavalcanti edite ed inedite," Firenze, 1813, from which edition they were reprinted in the "Poeti del primo secolo," ii. 276 *sqq.* A new edition, which calls itself critical, without being anything of the kind, with a lengthy discussion on the MSS., the authenticity of the poems, etc., is that of Nicola Arnone, quoted above. For its defects, see Mussafia, "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1881, p. 295 *sq.*; D'Ancona, "Nuova Antol.," ser. ii., t. 28, p. 708 *sqq.*; Morpurgo, "Giorn.

fil. rom.," iii., fasc. 2, p. 111 *sqq*. For Guido, see Arnone's papers in the "Riv. Europea," nuova serie, vol. vi., 487 *sqq*., vii. 289 *sqq*.; they contain little that is new, either in the way of facts or of ideas. Gaet. Capasso, "Le Rime di Guido Cavalcanti," Pisa, 1879; fairly insignificant. P. Ercole, "Guido Cavalcanti e le sue rime" (biography, poems and commentary), Livorno, 1885; very superior to all the preceding publications on Guido. * For Guido's character, see Del Lungo, "Nuova Antol.," Nov. 1, 1889. *

Page 205 *sq*. D'Ovidio's interpretation of the passage in Dante appeared first in the "Propugnatore," 1870, then in his "Saggi critici," Napoli, 1879, p. 312.—It is true that Fil. Villani, too, wrote of Guido: *si opinioni patris Epicurum secuti parum modicum annuisset, cet.*; but his word is a poor guarantee, and perhaps he was borrowing from Boccaccio. D'Ovidio's first explanation was accepted by Comparetti ("Virgilio nel M. E."). Arnone, too, who first raised the objection that has been noted, is now firmly convinced of Guido's Epicureanism and disbelief ("Rime di Guido Cav.," p. cxxx.); in the genuine poems, he says, the name of God never occurs, the future life is never alluded to. But was there much opportunity for this in the poetic manner adopted by Guido? Besides, the former statement is incorrect, if, as Arnone decides, the ballad "Fresca rosa novella" is by Guido: for here *Dio* is named in vv. 21 and 34. Then again, *O Deo* occurs in the sonnet "Chi è quella che vien," not, it is true, in the bad reading adopted by Arnone, but in that of the Cod. Vat. 3214, which is the good one; and *la chiesa di Dio*, in the "Mottetto," Arnone, p. 67. Bartoli, too, shares the view, defended by Arnone, concerning Guido's disbelief ("Stor. lett.," iv. 164); from the sonnet on the image of the Madonna he deduces too much (p. 169). On the other hand, it is true that, as Del Lungo pointed out, *l.c.*, i. 1098 *sq*., the expedition to Santiago proves nothing for Guido's religiousness; this was, in those days, often nothing but a ceremony, and, besides, Guido gave it up on the way. Ercole also opposes the theory of Guido's atheism (*l.c.*, p. 75 *sqq*.).

Page 207. * F. Pasqualigo, "La canzone di G. Cavalcanti, etc., ridotta a miglior lezione e commentata," Lonigo, 1891; Giulio Salvadori, "La poesia giovanile e la canzone d'amore di Guido Cavalcanti," Roma, 1895. *

Page 207. The authenticity of Guido Orlandi's sonnet, "Onde si muove," has been doubted (see Crescimbeni, iii. 76, *note* 10). However, it is contained in the Cod. Chigi, belonging to the end of the fourteenth century; it would therefore be a forgery of very early date. * E. Lamma, "Guido Orlandi e la scuola del 'dolce stil nuovo,'" Pistoia, 1895. *

Page 208. For Lapo or Lupo degli Uberti see Grion, "Jahrb.,"

x. 203 *sqq.*, full of his usual fantastic notions; and, better, Renier, "Liriche di Fazio degli Uberti," pp. xcv-xcviii, Firenze, 1883.

Page 208. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iv. 5, notes in Lapo Gianni a special *mania dialettica*, drawing attention, *inter alia*, to the merely superficial point that he takes the word *provo*, which occurs repeatedly in a poem, to mean "I prove it," whereas its real sense is "I experience it myself."—E. Lamma's article, "Lapo Gianni," in the "Propugnatore," xviii. 1°, p. 3 *sqq.*, is of no importance. * A. Gabrielli, "Lapo Gianni e la lirica predantesca," Roma, 1887 (from the "Rassegna italiana"). "Rime di Lapo Gianni, rivedute sui codici e sulle stampe," edited, with introduction and notes, by E. Lamma, Imola, 1895. *

Page 212. "Le Rime di Folgore da San Gemignano e di Cene dalla Chitarra d'Arezzo," ed. by G. Navone, Bologna, 1880. See D'Ancona on the poems, "Nuova Antol.," xxv. 55, and "Studj di critica," p. 208 *sqq.* For contrary arguments see Navone, in his paper on Folgore, in the "Giorn. di fil rom.," i. 201 *sqq.*, and in the introduction to his edition. * Giuseppe Errico, "Folgore da S. Gemignano e la brigata spendereccia," Napoli, 1896. *

Page 214. Cene dalla Chitarra also calls the *brigata* (in Sonnet I.) *avara*, merely in opposition to Folgore. The verse "E quel che in millantar sì largo dona" (V.), goes to prove that Folgore's words did not represent the truth. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," ii. 253-259, sides with D'Ancona and others, as opposed to Navone, in relying principally on Benvenuto's words. The only new point he introduces is the mention of the Salimbeni in Cene's sonnet on September (see Bartoli, p. 266); but the passage is not decisive, for we do not know whether the head of the *brigata* is alluded to here. D'Ancona, "Studj di critica," p. 209, *note* 2, agrees with Bartoli, without adding new arguments. Navone (Introd., p. xcvi) rightly assumes that, when once the real circumstances were forgotten, popular tradition soon connected the poems with the *brigata spendereccia*, which accounts for the superscriptions to that effect in two MSS. Benvenuto da Imola might also have been deceived by this, and it is not necessary to assume, as is done by Navone (p. lxxxvi), that the poems mentioned by him were different ones.

Page 214. In five sonnets, which are probably part of a larger *corona* (Navone, p. 45 *sqq.*), Folgore describes the ceremony of conferring a knighthood, employing allegorical figures.

Page 214. To the battle of Montecatini refers also the contemporary anonymous ballad: "Deh avrestu veduto messer Piero," a dialogue between Maria, the mother of the King of Naples, and a Guelph who had returned from the battle; it has been edited by Teza, in Carducci's "Rime di Cino da Pistoia," Firenze, 1862,

p. 603 *sqq.*, and in the "Cantil. e Ball.," p. 32 *sqq.*—Of other political poems I shall still note Guido Orlandi's vigorous sonnet in defiance of the Florentine Whites, when the amnesty of 1316 was offered them: "Color di cener fatti son li bianchi" (Trucchi, i. 244), and the rhymes of the notary Pietro de' Faitinelli of Lucca, called Mugnone. The latter must have left his city with the Guelph party, when Uguccione della Faggiuola became lord of it in 1314, and remained in exile till 1331; he died in 1349. He wrote several sonnets referring to the same events as the three of Folgore, and inspired by the same sentiments—grief at the successes of Uguccione, reproaches and censure for King Robert, the Florentines, the negligent and cowardly Guelphs. But for poetical vigour and the glow of passion Folgore's three sonnets are far superior to those of Faitinelli, which were edited, with a good introduction on the poet, by Leone del Prete: "Rime di ser Pietro de' Faytinelli detto Mugnone," Bologna, 1874. Egisto Gerunzi, "Pietro de' Faytinelli," etc., in the "Propugn.," xvii. 2°, p. 325 *sqq.*, endeavoured to attribute Folgore's three sonnets to Faitinelli, following in this an opinion of Pietro Bilancioni's; but the proof fails entirely and moves in a *circulus vitiosus*. The MS. gives the name of Folgore, and the poems do not resemble those of Faitinelli in any way save in the subject-matter; but they produce quite a different effect, by reason of the energetic brevity of the expression and the vivacity of the images. It is sufficient to compare the admirable "Eo non ti lodo . . ." with Faitinelli's "Ercol, Cibele . . .," so vulgar and so crammed with mythological learning, in order to see the entire difference between them. Cf., too, the good observations of L. del Prete in the "Propugn.," xviii. 1°, p. 136, and those of Morpurgo in the "Riv. crit.," ii., p. 23. * V. Rossi, "Della libertà nella nuova lirica toscana del 1300," Bologna, 1886. *

Page 214 *sqq.* For Cecco Angiolieri see D'Ancona's brilliant paper, "Cecco Angiolieri da Siena, poeta umorista del sec. xiii.," in the "Nuova Antol.," xxv. 5 *sqq.*, and in the "Studi di critica," p. 105 *sqq.* * P. Bilancioni, in the "Propugn.," N. S., ii. 1046 *sqq.* * Many of the poems are contained specially in the Cod. Chigi, according to which they were edited by Molteni and Monaci, "Il Canzoniere Chigiano," p. 212 *sqq.*

Page 217. Rusticco's poems are contained in Trucchi's "Poesie ined.," i. 180 and 225 *sqq.* The sonnet, "Io aggio inteso," is in the "Poeti del primo secolo," ii. 419. Several of the poems are still unprinted, so the coarsest (Cod. Vat., 3793, No. 921): "Dovunque vai, con teco porti il cesso, O bugieressa vechia puzolente."—* "Le Rime di Rustico di Filippo," edited by Vincenzo Federici, Bergamo, 1899. See, too, Casini's monograph in the "Nuova Antologia," serie 3, xxv. 486-508. *

Page 220. Dante: Karl Witte, "Danteforschungen," Band I.,

Halle, 1869; II., Heilbronn, 1879. * "Essays on Dante," selected, translated, and edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by C. M. Lawrence and P. H. Wicksteed, London, 1898. * Gius. Todeschini, "Scritti su Dante," collected by Bart. Bressan, Vicenza, 1872 (posthumous; the papers are much older). Pietro Fraticelli, "Storia della vita di Dante Alighieri," Firenze, 1861. Foscolo, "Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante" (in the "Opere di Foscolo," iii., Firenze, 1850, p. 85 *sqq.*—the work was written in 1825). Vitt. Imbriani, "Sulla rubrica dantesca nel Villani" (in the "Propugnatore," xii. 1°, p. 325, 2°, p. 54; xiii. 1°, p. 131 and 168, 2°, p. 187). "Dante e il suo secolo," Firenze, 1865 (a work compiled to commemorate the centenary; large in bulk, but poor in contents). "Jahrbuch der deutschen Dantegesellschaft," Band i., Leipzig, 1867; ii. 1869; iii. 1871; iv. 1877. G. A. Scartazzini, "Dante in Germania," Band i., Milano, 1881; Band ii., 1883. The same, "Dante," in the "Manuali Hoepli" (Nos. 42 and 43), 2 little vols., Milano, 1883 (quite useful, but vain, insipid and offensive, by reason of the author's gross ingratitude towards Witte); * an English trans., by T. Davidson, under the title "A Handbook to Dante" appeared in Boston, 1887; and a second Italian edition—"Dantologia,"—was published in 1894. * Scartazzini's book on Dante, which appeared in 1869, is now absolutely useless, though it was reprinted in 1879. * The same, "Prolegomini della Divina Commedia," Leipzig, 1890. The same, "Dante-Handbuch," Leipzig, 1892; translated into English by A. J. Butler: "A Companion to Dante," London, 1893. The same, "Dante" ("Geisteshelden," Band 21), Berlin, 1896. * Fr. X. Wegele, "Dante Alighieri's Leben und Werke," ed. 3, Jena, 1879 (formerly excessively praised, now perhaps too much criticised; for, in spite of its errors, it contains much that is useful). Bartoli, "Storia d. lett. ital.," v., Firenze, 1884; * C. Ricci, "L'ultimo rifugio di Dante Alighieri," Milano, 1891. M. Scherillo, "Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante," Torino, 1896. Franz Xaver Kraus, "Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk, sein Verhältniss zur Kunst und zur Politik," Berlin, 1897. A. Bassermann, "Dante's Spuren in Italien," Heidelberg, 1897 (a small edition, München-Leipzig, 1898). Edmund G. Gardner, "Dante,"[1] London, 1900. * Colomb de Batines, "Bibliografia dantesca," Prato, 1845-1848, 3 parts. Giuseppe Jacopo Ferrazzi, "Manuale Dantesco," 5 vols., the last one published in Bassano, 1877 (a chaotic work). * Cornell University Library. Catalogue of the Dante Collections presented by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Theodore Wesley Koch, Ithaca, New York, 1898, 1899. *

[1] The reader is referred to the useful list of English and American Dante publications at the close of this little book.

Page 220. For Dante's family see, besides Fraticelli, L. Passerini in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 53 *sqq*. The documents are printed in (Frullani e Gargani) "Della casa di Dante," Firenze, 1865. Alfr. v. Reumont, "Dante's Familie" (in the "Dantejahrb." ii. 331 *sqq*.) gives nothing new of importance.—For the family name, see Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 22. The documents till the end of the thirteenth century have almost invariably *Alagherius*, or *Allagherius*, as was noted by Selmi, "Il Convito, sua cronologia," etc., Torino, 1865, p. vii; and Scarabelli wished to see this adopted as the genuine form ("Comedia di Dante degli Allaghieri col commento di Jacopo dalla Lana," Milano, 1865, p. xl *sq*.). In the sonnets of Forese Donati, too, we find *Allaghieri* and *Alaghier*, and in Dante's Latin letters *Allagherius*. It is true, then, that this was the original form, from which *Alighieri* was derived; but this transformation took place already during Dante's lifetime. We find *de Allegheriis* in the document of S. Gemignano (1299), *Allegherii* in the deed of S. Godenzo (1302), *alligerii* in the Paduan record of 1306, *Aligerius* in the peace compact of Sarzana (1306) and *Aligherii* in the will of Dante's mother-in-law (1315, see "Casa di Dante," p. 41). Scarabelli's observations in the "Esemplare della Divina Commedia donato da Papa Lambertini," iii. p. vii (Bologna, 1873), are, therefore, wrong. Even allowing that Dante had always called himself Alaghieri, we may yet employ that form of his name which the family adopted in his time and retained subsequently. In the case of the titles of works, we are bound to the author's decision, since they are his creations; but to render archaic the pronunciation of the names of persons, contrary to the usage of so many centuries, is mere pedantry, and not worth all the energy that Vitt. Imbriani lavished on it.

Page 221. That Dante was born in May or June, 1265, was proved again, briefly and decisively (in opposition to various doubts that had then recently been raised), by Witte, "Neue u. neu festgestellte Daten zu Dante's Lebensgeschichte" (in the "Augsburger Allgem. Zeitung," 1880, No. 16, where the bibliography of the subject is also given). Scartazzini, "Abhandlungen über Dante Alighieri," Frankfurt a. M., 1880, p. 54, gives merely a dilution of Witte's arguments.

Page 221. That Brunetto Latini was Dante's master, in the ordinary sense, was doubted already by Fauriel, "Hist. litt. de la France," xx. (1842), p. 284; then by Sundby, "Brunetto Latinos Levnet og Skrifter" (1869), p. 17 *sqq*.; Todeschini, "Scritti su Dante," i., 288 *sqq*.; Vitt. Imbriani, in the "Giorn. Napoletano di fil. e lettere," vii. 1 and 169.

Page 221. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v. 81 *sqq*., now doubts Dante's participation in the wars; he goes too far in his scepticism; cf. "Nuova Antol.," Dec. 15, 1883, p. 820, and now Del Lungo's

article, *ib.*, April 1, 1885, p. 416 *sqq.* Leonardo Aretino quotes Dante's letter on the battle of Campaldino in his "Vita di Dante," and in the "Historiæ florentinæ," l. iv. (towards the beginning), and it is also quoted twice by Flavio Biondo, "Historiarum ab inclinatione romanorum dec.," ii. l. 8 (towards the end), p. 331, and in such a way that he would appear to have seen it with his own eyes. The capture of Caprona is placed in the year 1290 by Del Lungo ("Dino Compagni," i. 66, and "Nuova Antol." *l.c.*, p. 423), because the date given by Villani, 1289, is contradicted by the documents.

Page 223. "La Vita Nuova e il Canzoniere di Dante Allighieri," ed. by Giambatt. Giuliani, Firenze, 1868. "La Vita Nuova di Dante Allighieri ricorretta coll'ajuto di testi a penna ed illustrata," by Witte, Leipzig, 1876. "La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri illustrata da note e preceduta da un discorso su Beatrice," by A. D'Ancona, 2nd ed. Pisa, 1884 (first appeared as *édition de luxe*, but the 2nd ed. is considerably enlarged). * Friedrich Beck, "Dante's 'Vita Nuova,' Kritischer Text unter Benützung von 35 bekannten Hss.," München, 1896. L. Passerini, "La Vita Nuova, secondo la lezione del cod. Strozziano vi., 143," Torino- Roma, 1897. Dr. E. Moore, "Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri, nuovamente rivedute nel testo," Oxford, 1st ed. 1894; 2nd ed. 1897. * For the interpretation of the title see Witte, p. vii. *sq.*, and D'Ancona, p. 2 *sqq.*—Dante's lyrical poetry: "Opere minori di Dante Alighieri," ed. by Fraticelli, vol. i.: "Il Canzoniere," Firenze, 1861; partly, too, in Giuliani's edition of the "Vita Nuova." Witte, "Rime in testi antichi attribuite a Dante," in "Danteforsch," ii. 525-573; for the greater part certainly not by Dante, this being the view of the editor himself. "Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte," translated and explained by L. Kannegiesser and K. Witte, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1842, 2 vols.—On Dante's lyrical poetry see especially G. Carducci, "Delle Rime di Dante Alighieri," in "Dante e il suo secolo," 1865, then in the "Studi letterari," Livorno, 1874, p. 141 *sqq.* (the 2nd edit. of 1880 is a literal reprint). E. Lamma, "Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante," in the "Propugn.," xviii. 2°, 189, 352; xix. 1° 133—bibliography of the editions and MSS., discussion as to the authenticity of the poems; the author is badly prepared and superficial.

Page 228. "Io mi son pargoletta bella e nuova." Many have thought that Beatrice is not alluded to here, and that the *pargoletta* is identical with the one mentioned in "Purg.," xxxi. 59; but the latter does not refer to any particular person, and points to a sensual passion, which Dante would not have treated in the manner adopted in the ballad. After all *pargoletta* is a common, not a proper, noun, and when a poet speaks of a young girl must it always be the same person?

Page 231. The canzone "Morte poich' io non trovo a cui mi doglia," is probably not by Dante, but perhaps by the fourteenth century poet Jacopo Cechi (cf. Giorn. Stor. d. lett. ital.," i. 346, and R. Renier, "Liriche di Fazio degli Uberti," Firenze, 1883, p. cccxxv).

Page 231. Beatrice died on June 9th, 1290, according to the "Vita Nuova," c. 30; and in her 24th or 25th year, according to "Purg." xxx., 124: *in su la soglia Di mia seconda etade*—for from the particulars given by Dante concerning the various ages ("Conv.," iv. 24) we cannot tell whether he reckons the boundary years to the one age or to the other.

Page 231. That the "Vita Nuova" must have been completed in the year 1292 was proved by Fornaciari, in his "Studi su Dante editi ed inediti," Milano, 1883, p. 155 *sqq*. Cf., too, "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 612-614, and Francesco d'Ovidio, in the "Nuova Antol.," March 15, 1884, p. 247 *sqq*.—Antonio Lubin, "Dante spiegato con Dante e Polemiche dantesche," Trieste, 1884, in a very heated controversial article directed against D'Ovidio (p. 24 *sqq*.), and in another one against Fornaciari (p. 81 *sqq*.), endeavours to prove afresh his chronology, which places the "Vita Nuova" in the year 1300. His whole chain of arguments is based on the conviction, that the *Donna gentile* of the "Vita Nuova" was really, from the very outset, nothing but an allegory of Philosophy. For anyone who does not share this conviction, which involves us in hopeless contradictions, the entire chain of arguments is valueless. On the other hand, P. Rajna, "Per la data della 'Vita Nuova,'" in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," vi. 113 *sqq*., admirably confirms Fornaciari's result by means of critical and historical reasons.

Page 232. Folco Portinari's will (printed in Gius. Richa's "Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine," Firenze, 1759, viii. 229 *sqq*.) is dated January 15th, 1287, that is to say (as this is certainly Florentine style), 1288 according to our reckoning, which is the year fixed by Witte, "Lyr. Ged.," ii. 19. For further biographical particulars concerning Folco Portinari, see D'Ancona, "V. N.," p. 162.—A notice concerning the reality of Beatrice, and her belonging to the Portinari family—a notice apparently earlier than Boccaccio's—was discovered by L. Rocca in a second (fuller) version which Pietro Alighieri made of his Dante commentary, written *circa* 1355; cf. L. Rocca, in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," vii. 366 *sqq*.

Page 233. Thomas Aquinas expressly denied the conception of an active intelligence, as separate substance; for him the *Intellectus agens* is merely a power of the mind (see "Summa theol.," p. i., qu. 79, art. 5), and the superior *Intellectus agens*, which illuminates the human intelligence, is not a special substance, but God himself: "Sed intellectus separatus secundum

nostræ fidei documenta est ipse Deus" (*ib.*, art. 4). So even for this supposed intelligence there is no place in Dante's system, and Perez could not quote a single passage alluding to it; however, when he does quote, and the reference is to God, he purposely does not enlighten the reader as to the ambiguous expression *Intelligenza*. Or again, on p. 233 is quoted a passage from the letter to Can Grande, where Dante speaks of a *substantia intellectualis separata*; Perez, of course, renders this *la intelligenza attiva*; but Dante is speaking of the angels. Perez' proof, therefore, rests on a conjuring trick. His entire theory concerning the allegorical meaning of the "Vita Nuova" is based on the wrong interpretation of a passage in this little book—an interpretation which was repeated by Renier. Dante says (cap. 25), in justification of the personification of love occurring in one of the poems, that poets in the vulgar tongue employed figurative speech, like the classical poets; but that "it were a shameful thing if one should rhyme under the semblance of metaphor or rhetorical similitude, and afterwards, being questioned thereof, should be unable to rid his words of such semblance, unto their right understanding." Perez (p. 51 *sqq.*) changes this to: "Shame to him, who does not speak figuratively, *i.e.*, always in allegories." Are we really to assume that he did not notice how he was making Dante say something quite different?

Page 233. For Vittorio Imbriani on Beatrice, cf. "Quando nacque Dante?" Napoli, 1879, p. 88 *sq.*, the "Propugn.," xv. 1°, p. 67, and many other passages; Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iv. (Firenze, 1881), p. 171 *sqq.* A. Lubin, "La Commedia di Dante Alighieri," Padova, 1881, p. 24 *sq.*, admits Beatrice's reality; but still he thinks that her allegorical significance begins as early as § 17 of the "V. N." The allegorical, together with the historical significance, was assumed, among others, by Witte, Fornaciari, and, on one occasion, by Renier.

Page 234. The argument for Beatrice's reality, based on the circumstance that no explanation of the allegory is given in the "Convivio," has now been adopted by D'Ovidio, too ("Nuova Antol.," *l.c.*, p. 246, note 2). For the fact that a passage at the beginning of the "Convivio," which was supposed to vouch for the allegorical character of the "V. N.," was wrongly understood, see "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 617.

Page 235. The latest flower in the art of allegorical interpretation may be admired in R. Renier's article in the "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 379-395. Here every single point is explained; we have a whole crowd of *beatrici* chasing one another in Dante's brain. When Beatrice dies we are told that she has now become "the grand feminine ideal of humanity," and so

on. Renier even doubts whether the nearest blood relative was a brother; for Beatrice Portinari had five brothers, and a husband as well (! !). That the oft-quoted passage at the beginning of the "V. N."—"non sapeano che si chiamare"—proves *Beatrice* to be a proper name, and not an adjective, is shown in the "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1884, p. 151.—An excellent argument against the allegorical interpretation was brought forward by Renier himself in "La Vita Nuova e la Fiammetta," Torino, 1879, p. 151 *sq.* We have at least one direct piece of testimony for Beatrice's actual existence from some one besides Dante, namely, the canzone by Cino on her death. Now Renier endeavours to destroy this argument ("Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," iv. 426 *note*) by supposing that the canzone of Cino da Pistoia is not addressed to Dante, and does not refer to the death of Beatrice. An unhappy idea this, for the allusions in the canzone are perfectly clear. In the first stanza we read: "Beata cosa come chiamava il nome;" and, in the second, the words: "Chè Dio nostro signore Volle di lei, come avea l'angel detto, Fare il ciel perfetto," refer to the famous second stanza of Dante's canzone, "Donne ch'avete."—To prove the identity of the ladies celebrated by the poets of the new Florentine school is likewise the object of Renier's book, "Il tipo estetico della donna nel medio evo," Ancona, 1885, which was unfavourably criticised by Morpurgo, "Riv. crit.," ii. 132 *sqq.*, by Borgognoni, "La bellezza femminile e l'amore nell' antica lirica ital." (in the "Nuova Antol.," October 16th, 1885, p. 593 *sqq.*), and by Fr. Torraca, "Donne reali e donne ideali," Roma, 1885 (from the "Rassegna").—Bartoli dealt with the question again in the "Stor. lett.," v. 52-81. He quotes De Sanctis with satisfaction as his ally (p. 80, *note*); but he has only misunderstood De Sanctis, who fully realised this love, which sees and spiritualises the ideal in the actual woman herself, and who regarded Beatrice as a real person. Against Bartoli's view see D'Ancona's admirable observations, "Vita Nuova," p. xxxiv *sqq.*, and a brilliant article by D'Ovidio, "La Vita Nuova di Dante ed una recente edizione di essa" ("Nuova Antol.," March 15th, 1884, p. 238 *sqq.*). * The whole question of Beatrice is summed up by Dr. Moore, "Studies in Dante," ii. (Oxford, 1899), pp. 79-151. *

Page 238. G. B. Giuliani, "Il Convito di Dante Allighieri reintegrato nel testo con nuovo commento," Firenze, 1874, * quoted by the author as the "latest" edition; now cf. the "Oxford Dante." * That the exact title is "Convivio," not "Convito," was shown by Witte, "Danteforsch," ii. 574 *sqq.*—Dante's philosophy: A. F. Ozanam, "Dante et la philosophie catholique au XIII^e siècle," Paris, 1845. E. Ruth, "Studien über Dante Allighieri (the first part), Tübingen, 1853. A. Conti, in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 271 *sqq.*, and in the "Storia della filosofia,"

Firenze, 1874, ii. 132 *sqq*. G. Simmel, "Dante's Psychologie," in the "Ztschf. f. Völkerpsychologie," xv., 18 and 239.

Page 242. To compare the sciences with the heavens appears to have been a general practice in those days. In a letter attributed to Pier della Vigna, on the death of a grammarian of the University of Naples (Huillard, "Vie et correspond.," p. 395) we read: "nam ars grammaticæ, quæ lunæ vocabulo designatur, privata decoris radiis sedet in tenebris."

Page 244. Anselm's parable on the fourfold sense of a work occurs in the "Eadmeri liber de S. Anselmi Similitudinibus," caput 194 (Migne, "Patrologia," ser. lat., t. 159, p. 707 *sq*.—the "Similitudo Cellerarii"). Thomas Aquinas in the "Summa theol.," p. 1, qu. i., art. 10.

Page 244. Theodulphus' verses are often quoted on the hidden meaning of poetry; and at a later period Alanus de Insulis ("De Planctu Naturæ," p. 296, in the ed. of 1654), wrote: "At in superficiali litteræ cortice falsum resonat lyra poëtica, sed interius auditoribus secretum intelligentiæ altioris eloquitur, ut, exteriore falsitatis abiecto putamine, dulciorem nucleum veritatis secrete intus lector inveniat." Other passages from medieval writers, as well as some of the fourteenth century, are quoted by Haase, "De medii ævi studiis philologicis," Programma, Vratislaviæ, 1856, pp. 21, 24, and by Perez, "La Beatrice svelata," pp. 34-38; see, too, among poems in the vulgar tongue, the "Roman de la rose," *v*. 7918 *sqq*., and the "Leys d'amors," iii. 252 *sq*.—Allegory in the works of poets and philosophers is treated with great fullness also by A. Lubin, "La Commedia di Dante All.," p. 174 *sq*.

Page 246. The poetical elements in Dante's science are discussed by Francesco De Sanctis, with his usual brilliance, in the "Stor. della lett. ital.," Napoli, 1870, i. 60.

Page 246. Latterly, too, some scholars have thought that Dante did not conceive the allegorical interpretation of his *canzoni* at the time of their composition—thus, Fauriel, Wegele (p. 201), Todeschini (i. 320), Carducci ("Studi," 213); against this theory, already Witte, "Lyr. Ged.," ii. 181, and now D'Ancona, "Vita Nuova," p. lxvii. In view of Dante's express assurance, this assumption is not justified. When, in the sonnet "Parole mie che per lo mondo siete," he speaks of Philosophy as *quella donna in cui errai*, he is merely adhering to the image of the love-poetry, and does not mean that he has made a mistake in philosophy. The word *errare* is here (as so often with the Sicilians) almost equivalent to "be in distress, anxiety" (cf. "V. N.," 13: *Così mi trovo in amorosa erranza*). The question of the reality of the *Donna gentile* is quite distinct from this, cf. "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 617.

Page 247. The interpretation of the *canzone* "Tre donne" is

doubtful ; that given in the text is practically the one preferred by Witte, "Lyr. Ged.," ii. 138 *sqq*. At any rate, it fits in best with Dante's words. *Drittura* names herself, and says of the other two that the one is her daughter, born at the source of the Nile, and that she, reflecting herself in the source, generated the third one; that is to say, the natural disposition towards justice produces the universal human law, and this, in its turn, the law of the state, which is only a modification of it. The source of the Nile may indicate the earliest civilisation in Egypt. Orelli (in Witte) and Carducci regard the second lady as the *legge divina* ; but can it be said that this is a thing which has been generated ? Ginguené's interpretation, which was accepted by Fraticelli and Tommaseo (see Giuliani, "V. N.," p. 298) is quite untenable.—Tommaseo and Giuliani, *l.c.*, p. 293 *sqq*., doubted the authenticity of the poem ; but Carducci says that all the MSS. he has seen ascribe it to Dante, and who could, at that time, have been the great poet who wrote this piece, except Dante ? The authenticity of the poem is confirmed by Pietro Alighieri, too, in his "Commentarium" to "Inf.," vi. (Nannucci's ed., Florentiæ, 1845, p. 94), and he gives there also an interpretation of the allegory ; he says that the two *giusti*, whom Ciacco mentions as the only ones in Florence ("Inf.," vi. 73), might be —"illa duo principalia jura, et neutrum ipsorum auditur : primum scilicet fas, quod est *jus divinum et naturale*, per quod quisque jubetur alteri faccre quod sibi vult fieri, et prohibetur alteri inferre quod fieri sibi non vult. . . . Et hoc jus est illa *Dirictura*, de qua auctor dicit in illa cantilena : '*Tre donne intorno al cor*' . . . Item secundum justum est *jus gentium* sive *jus humanum*, quod vult jus suum unicuique tribuere, et neminem cum alterius jactura locupletari. Et istud jus quodammodo *filius est superioris juris* et *pater quodammodo legis*, ut in dicta cantilena dicitur." We have here, therefore, the same interpretation as is given in the text, save for the *Drittura*.—For the rest, the guilt which is mentioned at the end cannot be guilt against Florence ; this would not fit in with the lofty consciousness of right in the verses that precede. Dante means his sinful mode of life in general, for which his misfortune might be the punishment inflicted by God ; and his repentance is the same as in the "Commedia."

Page 250. The sonnet "Parole mie che per lo mondo siete" is generally (and rightly, as it appears) regarded as the last of Dante's philosophical lyrics ; for the interpretation of this poem see the important observations of Fornaciari, "Studi su Dante," p. 164 *sq*.

Page 250. Charles Martel of Hungary, the son of Charles II., of Naples, was at Florence in March, 1294, as Todeschini proved, i. 171 *sqq*. ; see, too, Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," ii. 503.

Page 251. For the date of the composition of the "Convivio," see Witte, "Lyr. Ged.," ii. 60.—In "Conv.," iv. 29, Ser Manfredi da Vico is named as prætor and prefect of Rome. According to Gregorovius he was there in 1308 ("Gesch. der St. Rom.," v. 431 *note*), but likewise still in 1312 (*ib.*, vi. 45 *sq.*). But from the "Riv. crit.," iii. 40, I gather that he was there as early as 1304. Scolari, and after him Fraticelli, in the "Dissertazione sul Convito" ("Opere minori di Dante," iii.), fix the date of the composition of treatises ii. and iv., *c.* 1297 or 1298, and that of i. and iii., *c.* 1314. The theory that the work was composed at various times was held also by Selmi: "Il Convito, sua cronologia," etc., Torino, 1865. Their arguments were refuted already by Witte; see too "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 615 [Nazz. Angeletti, "Cronologia delle opere minori di Dante," parte i., Città di Castello, 1885].

Page 251. A MS. of the Riccardiana, No. 1044, gives the complete list of the 14 *canzoni* of the "Convivio," which is printed in Giuliani's "Conv.," p. 741. But it is wrong, and contradicts even the indications given by Dante himself; some one must have made it up quite arbitrarily. Witte's attempt ("Lyr. Ged.," ii., p. xxxii *sqq.*) to determine the missing poems of the "Conv.," is generally considered to be a complete failure. Selmi remarked (p. 95 *sq.*) that the number of the missing treatises corresponds to the number of eleven virtues, postulated by Aristotle and accepted by Dante ("Conv.," iv. 17), and thought that the treatises following the fourth were to deal with these eleven virtues.

Page 254. The "De Eloquentia Vulgari" in Giuliani's "Le Opere Latine di Dante Alighieri," Firenze, 1878, i. 19 *sqq.*, * quoted by the author as the "latest" edition; now see, above all, Pio Rajna's edition, Firenze, 1896 ("il vol. I. delle opere minori di Dante Alighieri, edizione critica procurata dalla Società Dantesca italiana"); a separate reprint of the text alone (with a certain number of alterations), Firenze, 1897. "Traité de l'éloquence vulgaire," a facsimile reproduction of the Grenoble MS., ed. by Maignien and Prompt, Venise, 1892. * See on this work E. Böhmer, "Ueber Dante's Schrift de vulgari eloquio," Halle, 1868, and D'Ovidio's admirable paper (of which I have largely availed myself), "Sul trattato de vulgari eloquentia di Dante Alighieri" (in the "Arch. glottol. ital.," ii. 59 *sq.*, and, with some additions, in the "Saggi critici," Napoli, 1879, p. 330 *sqq.*). * F. D'Ovidio, "Dante e la filosofia del linguaggio," Napoli, 1892. *

Page 255. The opinion that the "De el vulg." was intended to be merely a *Poetica* we find expressed already by Giov. Maria Barbieri, "Dell' origine della poesia rimata," Modena, p. 37, and now by D'Ovidio, "Saggi," p. 334.

Page 258. For the three species of style, see "De el. vulg.," ii. 4; however, the passage is corrupt. The distinction was old, and is found as early as Servius (cf. Comparetti, "Virgilio," i. 172 *note*). Albericus of Monte Cassino wrote ("Dictaminum Radii," fol. 3): "Scimus autem tres species esse hystoriæ. Res enim aut grandes, ut proelia utque divina, aut mediocres, ut florum, arborum, sive talium phisica, aut humiles, ut iuvenum ludus, amor, lascivia," and said that the style had to be adapted to each of these. See, too, the passage from Johannes Anglicus (end of the thirteenth cent.), quoted by Rockinger in the "Quell. u. Erörter. z. bayer. u. deutsch. Gesch.," ix. 497; and the one from a commentary to Virgil of the fifteenth cent., given by Comparetti, *l.c.*

Page 259. For Dante's views on metre, see Böhmer, *l.c.*; Bartsch, "Dante's Poetik," in the "Dantejahrb.," iii. 303 *sqq.*; D'Ovidio, "Saggi critici," 416 *sqq.*

Page 260. To justify my interpretation of the *Donna Gentile*, it will suffice to refer the reader to what I wrote in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil," vii. 612 *sq.*, and 616 *sq.*

Page 260. Carducci, "Studi letterari," p. 204 *sqq.* and Vitt. Imbriani, "Sulle canzoni pietrose di Dante," Bologna, 1882 (from the "Propugnatore"). The latter's refutation of other scholars is excellent, not so his new conjecture; he thinks that the *Pietra* might have been Dante's sister-in-law, Piera di Donato Brunacci, the wife of his brother Francesco; see against this theory the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil., vii. 176. Imbriani discusses some sonnets as well, which may perchance belong to this *Pietra* group. With regard to the two other *sestine*, Witte's view that they are spurious is now generally shared.

Page 262. The denomination *cansos redonda* (*Rundcanzone*) which Bartsch wished to give the poem "Amor tu vedi ben" ("Dantejahrb.," iii. 315) is not suitable either; for with the Provençals this term refers only to the change in the order of the rhymes, while equivocal rhymes and identity of the rhyming words (in the manner of the *sestina*) have no place in the Provençal metric *genre* that goes by this name.

Page 264. Boccaccio's accusation that Dante was addicted to *lussuria* till late in life, is probably an exaggeration; the period of his human transgressions is certainly prior to the year 1300. In order to see the kind of evidence on which Boccaccio based his judgment, cf. for example his "Commento," lez. 58, p. 431 *sq.* Seeing that, as he says, Dante always shows himself moved on beholding the punishment for those sins of which he had himself been guilty, and that the tortures of the Sodomites make such an impression on him, the excellent Boccaccio asks himself whether Dante was not himself perhaps tainted with this vice, and leaves each reader to decide for himself.—The

other arguments that have been quoted to prove Dante's sensuality have little value. Ubaldo di Sebastiano da Gubbio, who, in his "Teleutelogio," called Dante his master from youth upwards, was scarcely his pupil, in our sense of the word (cf. Mazzatinti, in the "Arch. stor. ital.," ser. iv., t. vii., p. 265). He need not even have known him personally; he might have called him *præceptorem*, because he had learned from his works, as Boccaccio did with reference to Dante and Petrarch.

Page 264. The exact date of Forese's death was discovered by Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," ii. 611.—Witte discusses the relations between Dante and Forese in the "Dantef.," ii. 76 *sqq.* Scartazzini thought that they had discussed philosophy together ("Abhandl. über Dante," 162).

Page 265. The complete proof for the authenticity of the correspondence in sonnet form, was first given by Carducci, "Studi," p. 160 *sqq.*, and 236; see, too, Fanfani, "Studi ed osservazioni sopra il testo delle opere di Dante," Firenze, 1874, p. 299 *sqq.* Del Lungo discovered the fifth sonnet, and had them all printed together in his "Dino Compagni," ii. 610 *sqq.* But if he thinks that he has, by his diffuse commentary, contributed a great deal towards the elucidation of the meaning, he is mistaken; on the contrary, he has misunderstood and obscured a number of points. Thus, in Forese's sonnet, "L'altra notte" he refers the *Alaghier* to Dante himself (p. 614 and 622), whereas, of course, his father is meant. The *copertoio cortonese* in Dante's "Chi udisse tossir," is certainly taken in the wrong way on p. 613. It is probably ionadattic: she has *copertoio corto*; that is, "il marito non le serve abbastanza di copertoio" (cf. Machiavelli, "Mandragola," ii. 6; "Io ho paura, che costei non sia la notte *mal coperta;* e per questo fa l'orina cruda"—where we have the same equivocal meaning). In the sonnet "Ben ti faranno," the "cuoio che farà la vendetta della carne" cannot possibly mean what Del Lungo would have it mean (p. 616). It is probably rather the skin of Forese himself, which has to do penance for the fattening of the flesh; that is to say, he gets the *scabbia* from it, to which reference is made in the sonnet "Bicci novel" (cf. also the "Anonimo Fiorentino"). In "Bicci novel" we are told at the end that Bicci and the brothers knew with their evil gains "a lor donne buon cognati stare," that is, as I think, they lead a riotous life outside the house with their ill-gotten money—*stanno cognati* is tantamount to *non stanno mariti*, they neglect their duty as husbands: *cognato* is here the contrary of *marito*, because the former is least of all permitted to do that which it is the latter's duty to do; cf. the Provençal stanza (in the "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," iv. 508): "Donna que de cognat fai drut, E de marit sab far cognat, a ben damideu renegat." How can this passage contain an allusion to Dante's

relationship with the Donati (as Del Lungo holds, p. 617)? Forese's taunts at Dante's forbearance occur in the sonnet, "Ben so che fosti figliuol d'Allaghieri." But that other one, beginning "L'altra notte," with its obscure words—"trovai Alaghier fra le fosse Legato a nodo. . . . E quei mi disse: Per amor di Dante scio' mi," appears also to allude to the fact that the father could find no peace, owing to the omission of some act of vengeance. It is not clear, whether and how this is connected with the unavenged murder committed by the Sacchetti, which is mentioned in the "Commedia." For the meaning of a passage, and the order of the sonnets, see, too, H. Suchier, "Ueber die Tenzone Dante's mit Forese Donati (in the "Miscellanea Caix-Canello," p. 289 *sqq.*).

Page 266. On Dante's children, see Passerini, in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 66; Todeschini, i. 333; Imbriani, in the "Giornale Napoletano," nuova ser. vii. 63-87; Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v., 107 *sq.*; Imbriani, "Gabriello di Dante di Allaghiero" (per nozze Papanti-Giraudini, Napoli, 1882).

Page 266. The document which proves Gemma Donati to have been still living in 1333 was published by Imbriani in the "Propugn.," xiii. 1°, 156 *sqq.*, and in "Quando nacque Dante?" p. 91. Against the identification of Gemma with the *Donna gentile*, see Todeschini, i. 332; Witte, "Dantejahrb.," iii. 532, *sq.*, Scartazzini, *ib.*, iv. 193, *sqq.* Now Scartazzini, "Dante in Germania," ii. 336 *sqq.*, has decided in favour of the identification. It is not worth while replying to him; if we wait for his next book, he will refute his own arguments. Against some of the earlier accusations, Gemma was admirably defended already by Foscolo, "Discorso," § 90-96. For the bibliography of the dispute, which has recently begun again, see Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 48 *sqq.* See also Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verbannung," Strassburg, 1882, p. 211 *sqq.* He is opposed, and rightly, by Scartazzini, "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," i. 264 *sqq.*, and "Dante in Germania," ii. 281 *sqq.*; see, too, J. Klaczko, "Causeries florentines," Paris, 1880, p. 108. We have, in all these cases, really nothing but the old arguments, which were refuted already by Foscolo, dished up again.

Page 268. Did Dante's family belong to the nobility? According to Boccaccio, they were a branch of the Elisei, who were descended from the Roman Frangipani. The latter detail is certainly wrong; when Dante alluded to his Roman origin ("Inf.," xv. 75 *sqq.*), he was only counting himself as one of the older portion of the inhabitants, who were descended from the Roman colonists, and was not implying in any way that his family was derived from any definite Roman stock. But Todeschini (i. 263 *sq.*), even denied that he belonged to the Elisei, and thought that this was an erroneous tradition, based on the

circumstance that the name of Cacciaguida's brother was Eliseo, from whom, however, the Elisei could not be descended, as the family had long existed when he was born. Further, Todeschini denies that Dante belonged to the *Grandi*, especially (1) because the family bore no family name; a *de Alagheriis* appears probably first in Brunectus, 1260, then in 1297: *Dante et Franciscus fil. ol. Alagherii de Alagheriis* (cf. "Casa di Dante," p. 39). In all other cases the son is simply called after the father, as was usual among the *popolani—Dante Alagherii*. In the document of S. Gemignano (1299) he is called *nobilis*; but this was written by strangers; (2) because Dante in the "Convivio" (tr. iv.) expressed himself so strongly against hereditary nobility. Scartazzini, "Abhandl. über Dante," p. 1 *sqq*., as usual, reproduced Todeschini's exposition, but at greater length. G. Fenaroli, "La vita e i tempi di Dante Alighieri," Dissertazione 1a, "La stirpe," etc., Torino, 1882, refuted Todeschini, at times with acumen, but unfortunately with terrible diffuseness. The vicinity of the houses appears, in his view, to favour the relationship with the Elisei; the name may, after all, be derived from Eliseo, Cacciaguida's brother, as family names were not universally used till the twelfth century: the names given by Villani to the noble families are of later date. That the Alighieri do not occur in Villani's lists of nobles is due to this very fact that they were reckoned to the Elisei; besides, Villani mentions only those families that were powerful by reason of their adherents and wealth. It remains to be seen whether this is correct, and also whether Villani could include them in the same list as the Elisei, although the Alighieri belonged to the opposite party. But the main question Fenaroli leaves unanswered—why the Alighieri are mentioned almost invariably without a family name still in the thirteenth century, as he himself repeatedly admits. If they were not yet Alighieri, why do they not call themselves Elisei? And if their connection with these was not yet clearly recognised (as Fenaroli says on p. 17), and if, on the other hand, their existence as a separate family was not securely established, could they still be counted noble? Then, again, the question may be put—what is the origin of the arms of the Alighieri? Passerini, in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 59, *note*, says that they come from a Florentine MS., "Che fu dei da Vernazzano, in cui nel 1302 furono delineate le armi delle famiglie che appartenevano a parte guelfa." But this MS. was lost in a shipwreck while being taken to France, and only copies of it are in existence, some of which are said to be very old. Del Lungo saw an allusion to the arms in Forese's poem, "Ben so che fosti" (cf. "Dino Comp.," ii. 618, *note*); but his interpretation is doubtful.—Further, Fenaroli thinks that Dante's nobility is proved by his

familiar attitude towards the nobles he meets in the "Commedia"; especially, he says (p. 38 *sq.*), Dante could not have conducted himself so haughtily with a man like Farinata, if he had not himself been of noble descent. But is this correct? Perhaps the distinction between *popolo* and *plebe* is here not sufficiently taken into account; Bartoli, too ("Stor. lett.," v. 13) did not keep the two apart. A man could be a *popolano*, and still belong to a very distinguished and influential family. Many doubts, therefore, remain. On the other hand, Fenaroli is certainly right in his assertion that the canzone on "Nobiltà" and the fourth treatise of the "Convivio" are, by no means, a proof of Dante's descent from the people. That nobility did not depend on birth, but on virtue alone, was, in those days, a commonplace of the poets and of the disputes in the schools of rhetoric. It was treated not only by men like Jehan de Meung in the "Roman de la Rose," *v.* 19540 *sqq.*, Cecco d'Ascoli in the "Acerba" (cf. Bariola, "Cecco d'Ascoli," Firenze, 1879, p. 43), Bindo Bonichi, canz. ii. (very much like Dante's poem), and canz. x., stanzas 1 and 2, but also, as is well known, by Guido Guinicelli, whom Dante followed. Are we, on that account, to assume that the family of the Principi was not noble? Are we, further, to make this assumption in the case of Thomas Aquinas, who likewise proved that nobility consisted not in birth, but only in virtue (see the passage in Ozanam's "Dante et la phil.," p. 484 *sq.*)? For the rest, Thomas refers to Hieronymus, and Boethius made similar statements concerning nobility ("Cons. Phil.," iii. 6). Thus, too, at a later period, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, in the story of Euryalus and Lucretia, "Opera" (ed. Basileæ, 1551), p. 1551. That the theme was treated in the schools is proved by the letter of a certain Magister T. addressed to Pier della Vigna and Taddeo da Sessa, which is contained in several MSS. (for example, in the one at Breslau) of the "Epistolæ Petri de Vinea," and the beginning and close of which are given by Huillard-Bréholles, "Vie et corresp.," p. 319. —It may be noted, by the way, that the definition of nobility, as consisting in ancient wealth and good manners, which Dante ("Conv.," iv. 3), attributes to Frederick II., is quoted in the "Fiore di virtù" as being by Alexander, but is at the same time assimilated with that of Aristotle, who made nobility consist in ancient wealth and virtue (*i.e.*, on the part of the ancestors, which point was, at that time, not clearly understood). It is singular, too, that Dante does not, in this treatise of the "Convivio," quote Aristotle's axiom, so similar to the one ascribed to Frederick, whereas he gives it in the "Monarchia," ii. 3. Perchance he was not acquainted with it when he wrote the "Convivio," which would be a further proof for the priority of the "Convivio." The second definition disputed by Dante, ac-

cording to which nobility depended solely on ancient wealth, occurs again in a canzone by Monte Andrea (in D'Ancona's "Antiche rime volgari," vol. iii., No. 288, stanza 3); and Guilem de Cerveira said: "El libre dits dels Reys Que als no es noblesa (Guarda tu cossit creys) Mas entigua riquesa" (see "Romania," xv. 32, stanza 66).

Page 268. The register with the note on Dante's admission to the guild is preserved only in a copy of the fifteenth century, and refers to the years 1297-1300, which must be an error, as Dante appears in the council of the hundred as early as 1296 (see Fraticelli, "Vita di Dante," p. 112). Imbriani doubts the authenticity of the document ("Quando nacque Dante," p. 55 *sq.*) The document concerning the embassy to S. Gemignano, which was thought to be lost, has been unearthed, and is now in the archives at Florence; it was published in the 'Riv. crit.," ii. 29.

Page 269. That the *comizii del priorato* in the letter quoted by Leonardo Aretino must mean the assembly convened for the election of the priors was noted by Scheffer-Boichorst, "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vii. 469 *sq.*

Page 269. That the party names of *Bianchi* and *Neri* were not assumed till 1301 (later than was generally thought), was pointed out by Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," i. 198; ii. 116 *sqq.* For the whole development of the catastrophe at Florence, see, besides Del Lungo's work, the interesting book of Guido Levi, "Bonifazio VIII. e le sue relazioni col comune di Firenze," Roma, 1882, especially p. 57 *sqq.*

Page 270. The documents relating to Dante's political activity in the year 1301 have now been collected (with some emendations) by Imbriani, in the "Propugnatore," xiii. 2°. 199 *sqq.*— Bartoli ("Stor. lett.," v. 113, 140) apparently knows of three other occasions on which Dante voted (on December 10th, 1296, March 14th, 1297, and in 1301); but he has merely misunderstood the passage of Del Lungo there quoted. Besides, he has erroneously transferred the vote of June 5th, 1296, to March 14th, 1297.

Page 271. It has generally been assumed that Dante was in Rome, as ambassador, at the time of his condemnation; this view being supported by a passage in Dino Compagni and by the account of Leonardo Aretino. But this embassy is very improbable, as was shown by V. Imbriani, "Propugn.," xii. 2°, p. 220-224, and, with some fresh arguments, by Scartazzini, "Dante in Germania," ii. 341 *sqq.*, and by Pasquale Papa in Bartoli's "Stor. lett.," v. 337 *sqq.*

Page 271. For the documents relating to Dante's exile see Fraticelli, and Del Lungo's "Dell esilio di Dante," Firenze, 1881. Dante's supposed vote at Florence on March 26th, 1302, is an error of late date; see Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni,"

ii. 225 *sq.* The very number of condemnations on the strength of the identical accusation proves that the *baratteria* with which Dante was charged was merely an invention, a pretext, as is generally assumed; this is proved, too, by his own haughty consciousness of innocence, which must needs be true in the case of a man of such character. But Imbriani ("Propugn." xiii. 2°, p. 208 *sq.*) thinks there may have been something in it, after all; if he was not a *barattiere*, the people may have thought he was one, and he might have become one had he remained in Florence. But how strange that all these *barattieri* were Bianchi! nor is it a fair method to cast aspersions on a man on the strength of assumptions and possibilities, in the absence of facts. Still, this reasoning made an impression on Pasquale Papa, who likewise admits the possibility of *baratteria*, *l.c.*, p. 362. What kind of a man must Dante have been if he was guilty of barratry, and then called himself innocent, over and over again?

Page 271. That the document of S. Godenzo belongs to the year 1302, though a much later date was frequently assigned to it, was proved by Repetti and Todeschini (i. 254-256); see, too, Del Lungo, "Dino Compagni," ii. 562 *sqq.*, where the document is printed as well.—Dante went to Verona at the latest towards the beginning of 1304; for Bartolommeo della Scala died on March 7 of that year, and he alone can be meant by the *gran Lombardo* of "Par." xvii. 71—cf. Todeschini, i. 241 *sqq.* Del Lungo's arguments against this are sophistical.

Page 273. Todeschini, i. 213 *sqq.*, doubted the authenticity of the letter on the death of Alessandro da Romena, but was opposed by Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 220 *sqq.*

Page 273. V. Imbriani, "Il documento Carrarese che pruova Dante in Padova ai 27 di agosto del 1306," Pomigliano d'Arco, 1881.—The documents bearing on the conclusion of peace at Sarzana are contained in Fraticelli's "Vita di Dante," p. 197 *sqq.*

Page 273. The letter to Moroello is held to be spurious by Scartazzini "Dante" (in the "Man. Hoepli"), ii. 70; likewise now by Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v. 187, who had previously (iv. 285) explained it allegorically. That Dante should write to a prince concerning his love, might appear surprising to us nowadays; but in the first place Malaspina was not a king, and, secondly, exalted love as the source of poetry was, in those days, an important theme; the letter is the preface to the canzone he is sending.

Page 274 *sq.* Dante's relations with Gentucca were held to be platonic, among others, by Carducci, "Studi," 209; Renier, "Vita Nuova e Fiammetta," 206; Scartazzini, "Dante in Germania," ii. 296. On the other hand, Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verbannung," p. 216 and 218, regards this as a sensual love, following the statement in the commentary which is attributed to Pietro di Dante; if this is by Dante's son (as I, too,

believe), the latter has understood but little of his father's spirit, and his testimony is not of much account. V. Imbriani, "Giornale Napoletano," nuova ser., vii. 74 *sqq.*, imagined this to have been merely a vulgar intrigue, and thought that Gentucca must have belonged to the lower orders, as Dante called her *femmina*. However, Scartazzini, *l.c.* p. 296, *note*, gave examples showing that Dante employed the word without this meaning. The attempts that have been made to identify Gentucca with some definite person were refuted by Imbriani, and rightly so.—For Dante's stay at Lucca, cf. Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 278.

Page 275. The letter beginning *Popule mee*, now lost, was quoted by Leonardo Aretino, and was certainly alluded to by G. Villani, too, when he speaks (ix. 136) of a letter *ad reggimento di Firenze*; this was assumed already by Foscolo, "Discorso," § 107.

Page 275. The letter of Frate Ilario is printed in Fraticelli's "Vita di Dante," p. 357 *sqq.* For the bibliography on it, cf. *ib.*, p. 349 *sqq.*, Witte, Dantef.," i. 49 *sq.*, Ferrazzi, "Man. Dant," ii., 597 *sq.* Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verbannung," Strassburg, 1882, p. 229 *sqq.*, endeavoured again to prove its authenticity, but treated with too much lofty disdain the very weighty arguments on the other side. Against its authenticity, Scartazzini, "Dante in Germania," ii., 308 *sqq.*—The journey to Paris was considered doubtful, among others, also by Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 278.

Page 277. Dante's letters: Giuliani, "Opere latine di Dante Allighieri," vol. ii., Firenze, 1882, * quoted as the "latest" edition by the author; now see the "Oxford Dante"; cf., too, C. S. Latham and G. R. Carpenter, "A translation of Dante's eleven letters with explanatory notes and historical comments," Boston, 1892. * Several of them have been condemned as spurious, each scholar regarding this or that one as a forgery, according as it does not fit in with his views on Dante. Vitt. Imbriani considers all Dante's letters apocryphal, thus making, at any rate, a radical clearance; see especially "Propugn.," xiii. 2°, 229-233, where even the letter to the Emperor Henry is "proved" to be spurious.

Page 279. For the three letters addressed by the Countess of Batifolle to the Empress, which are supposed to have been written by Dante, see Witte, "Dantef.," i., 486, ii. 195, 206, 229 *sq.* The first is dated May 18, 1311. They are contained in the same MS. as letters by Dante. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Ztschf. f. rom. Phil.," vi., 645, drew attention to some remarkable instances of agreement with the latter in point of language; but might these not be terms of speech commonly used in those days?

Page 281. The date of the composition of the "De Mon-

archia" was proved by Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verbannung," p. 105-138. According to all the MSS., there is a reference to "Par." v. in the "Mon." i., 12, and we have no right to cancel the words, as was done by Witte and Giuliani. The "Monarchia" and "Paradiso" were therefore written during Dante's last years. Scartazzini's objection ("Giorn. Stor. d. lett. ital.," i., 270 *sq.*) that Dante does not elsewhere quote his own writings, is not correct: in the "Convivio" he refers by anticipation to the "De El. Vulg.," and discusses the "Vita Nuova," while in the "De El. Vulg." he several times quotes his own canzoni. In "Dante in Germania," ii. 317 *sqq.*, Scartazzini's arguments are no better, and the reference to the "Commedia" is wrongly declared to be a variant reading of some of the MSS., whereas it is contained in all of them; that the "Paradiso" must have been published for Dante to be able to quote it, is a poor hypothesis.—Witte's reasons for fixing the date before the exile were excellently refuted already by Wegele, p. 313-322, 371-384, and again by Scheffer-Boichorst, *l.c.* That the "Monarchia" was written in any case after 1311, is proved probably by the mere employment of the image of the two lights in the letter to the princes and peoples of Italy, and in the one to the Florentines; at least, he would not have used it in this way, after what he had said in the "Monarchia" on this point. Editions: Fraticelli, in the "Opere Minori di Dante," ii. 278 *sqq.*, Witte, "Dantis Alligherii de Monarchia libri iii.," Vindobonae, 1874; Giuliani, "Opere Latine di Dante," i. 217 *sqq.*; * the "Oxford Dante." *—See, too, E. Böhmer, "Ueber Dante's Monarchia," Halle, 1866; K. Hegel, "Dante über Staat und Kirche" (a "Programm"), Rostock, 1842. A very good exposition of Dante's political system will be found in Ruth, "Studien über Dante," p. 119 *sqq.*

Page 281. The real relationship in which Dante stands to the political unity of Italy was stated by Witte in the "Dantef.," ii. 237 *sqq.*

Page 282. The image of the two lights for Pope and Emperor occurs in a letter of Innocent IV. (1201), quoted by Perez, "La Beatrice svelata," p. 38; again, in "Petri de Vineis Epist.," i. 31 (ed. Basileae, 1566). In the "Commedia" Dante speaks of two suns. Then Cino da Pistoia saw the Emperor expressed by the sun, the Pope by the moon (cf. L. Chiappelli, "Vita e opere giuridiche di Cino da Pistoia," Pistoia, 1881, p. 135; see *ib.*, p. 117 *sqq.*, for Cino's political ideas, almost identical with those of Dante.—For the connection between Dante's theory and Frederick II.'s doctrine of the two powers, see De Blasiis, "Della vita e delle opere di Pietro della Vigna," Napoli, 1860, p. 165 *sqq.*, and Huillard-Bréholles, "Vie et correspondance de Pierre de la Vigne," Paris, 1865, p. 162 *sqq.*

Page 283. When Del Lungo ("Dino Compagni," ii. 604-610, and "Dell'essiglio di Dante," p. 50) endeavours to prove that Dante was not a Ghibelline, or rather, that he was one only *per forza*, having been counted as one of the Ghibellines by his enemies after his exile, that is merely a verbal quibble. For we know that he wished to form a party for himself, and that he was therefore neither a Guelph nor a Ghibelline, according to the meaning the words bore at that time, when the parties no longer had any lofty aims. But he was a Ghibelline in the true, original sense of the word, being a champion of the Ghibelline idea, as represented by Frederick II. and Pier della Vigna,—a defender of the imperial rights. Del Lungo (p. 607) is in favour of calling him a *guelfo imperialista* ; but did the word "Guelph" represent anything in those days beyond a merely superficial denomination? Besides, Dante himself did not want a party name. Dante's position was stated quite correctly already by Hegel, *l.c.*, p. 17 and 20.

Page 285. Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verb.," p. 151 *sqq.*, endeavoured to prove the authenticity of the letter to Guido Novello; however, doubts will always remain, unless by chance the Latin original be discovered. Thus, against its authenticity, Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v. 243 *sqq.*—That the visits to Verona were merely excursions from Ravenna was held by Tiraboschi, Cappi (in "Dante e il suo secolo," p. 813 *sqq.*), and Scheffer-Boichorst.

Page 285. The "Quaestio de Aqua et Terra": Fraticelli, "Opere Minori di Dante," ii. 416 *sqq.*, and Giuliani, "Opere Latine di Dante," ii. 355 *sqq.*; * these are quoted by the author as the "latest" editions; now cf. the "Oxford Dante." * Stoppani (in Giuliani, p. 451 *sqq.*) has greatly exaggerated the scientific value of the treatise; most of the important points it contains may be found in Brunetto Latini's "Trésor," as was shown by Gaiter in the "Propugn.," xv. 1°, p. 430 *sqq.* As no early MSS. are known, the treatise was held to be a forgery by Tiraboschi and others, including Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," v. 294 *sqq.* A forger living in the sixteenth century, who could write so exactly in Dante's sense and with Dante's words, appears to me too great a miracle. * See Dr. Moore, "Studies in Dante," ii., pp. 303-357. *

Page 286. The correspondence with Giovanni del Virgilio has been edited by Fraticelli, i. 409 *sqq.*, and by Giuliani, ii. 301 *sqq.* * F. Pasqualigo, "Ecloghe di G. del Vergilio e di Dante Alighieri annotate da anonimo contemporaneo," etc., Lonigo, 1897. * See on it Witte, "Lyr. Ged.," ii. 213 *sqq.*; * F. Macrì-Leone, "La Bucolica latina nella lett. italiana del sec xiv.," parte i., Torino, 1889. * It may be doubted whether the last poem is by Dante; even Witte was struck by such honourable designations as *venerande senex*, *illustre caput*, and

by the rest of the praise that Dante lavishes on himself. The eclogue always speaks of Tityrus (Dante) in the third person, while the first one always has *ego;* further, the author of the eclogue says that the dialogue between Tityrus and Alphesiboeus was narrated to him by Jolas (Guido Novello). Are all these points merely artifices? According to the early writer of the glosses in the MS. Laurent., Dante did not send his reply for a year; his son discovered it after his death, and sent it on (so that the correspondence would have taken place in 1320-1321). Is it possible that the reply was not written till after his death?—P. Meyer ("Romania," xi. 616) conjectures that all the four poems might be spurious; see on this point Carducci, "Studi," 253 *note.*

Page 287. Giov. Villani narrates that Dante died on his return from an embassy to Venice, and Fil. Villani describes in greater detail how he became ill on the journey. But V. Imbriani denied the truth of these accounts ("Propugn.," xiii., 2°, 191); so, too, Scheffer-Boichorst, *l.c.*, p. 73 *sq.*

Page 287. On Dante's tomb and the history of his remains, see Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 32 *sqq.*, and a publication entitled: "Sepulcrum Dantis" (Alla Liberia Dante in Firenze, 1883). Here, too, will be found particulars concerning the negotiations for the transfer of the remains to Florence. As early as the year 1519, when Leo X. wished to do what his countrymen desired, the coffin was found empty. Not till 1865 were the remains (if they *are* the remains) discovered again in a wooden chest in the church wall.

Page 289. Wegele, p. 389 (and already in the 1st ed., Jena, 1856, p. 106 *sq.*), thought that the second stanza of "Donne che avete," containing the allusion to the mystic journey, was inserted at a later period; so, too, Todeschini, i. 276 *sqq.* The chief reason in favour of this assumption was refuted by D'Ancona, "Vita Nuova," p. 142 *sqq.*, although the second part of his interpretation will scarcely be accepted (cf. "Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.," 1884, p. 152). The stanza is contained in a MS. dated 1292 (cf. Carducci, "Intorno ad alcune rime," p. 19); but unfortunately the verses referring to Hell are missing here. That the stanza was composed before the death of Beatrice appears to be proved also by the manner in which Cino da Pistoia refers to it in the poem of consolation he addressed to Dante ("Avvegna ch' i' non aggia più")—"Chè Dio nostro signore Volle di lei, come avea l' angel detto, Fare il ciel perfetto."

Page 289. The fact that the vision at the close of the "Vita Nuova" is not yet, in all its details, that of the "Commedia," but only its germ, was admirably stated by Fornaciari, "Studi su Dante," p. 156 *sq.*

Page 290. "Il Comento di Giov. Boccacci sopra la Commedia preceduto dalla Vita di Dante," ed. by G. Milanesi, Firenze, 1863. * "La vita di Dante scritta da Giov. Boccaccio. Teste critico," etc., ed. by Francesco Macrì-Leone, Firenze, 1888. *—Witte thought that the papers found at Florence might have been canzoni of Dante's (see "Dantef.," i. 481 ; ii. 52).—Scheffer-Boichorst, *l.c.*, p. 246 *sqq.*, considers the Latin verses, together with Frate Ilario's letter, genuine. In the shorter version of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante" the third verse is complete.

Page 291. For references by other writers to the "Commedia" during Dante's lifetime, see Witte, "Dantef.," i. 137. It is true that the passage in Cecco d'Ascoli is probably of later date (as Foscolo remarked, "Discorso," § 170), since the "Acerba" was written about the year 1326, and Cino's sonnet is certainly spurious (cf. Bartoli, "Stor. lett.," iv. 56, note 136). But Giovanni del Virgilio, when he wrote (i. 5) "Astripetis Lethen," must have known the part played by Lethe in Dante's Terrestrial Paradise, and must, therefore, have had some acquaintance with the final cantos of the "Purgatorio" (cf. Witte, *ib.*, p. 139). It is true, however, that several fragments might have been known among friends, and even among the general public, without the whole of the first two *cantiche* having been published. Foscolo ("Discorso," § 30 *sqq.*) endeavoured, with much zest, to prove that Dante could not publish the work, or even any large portion of it, owing to the enormous dangers he would have incurred by reason of his attacks on the mightiest in the land, and that he was therefore biding his time. Only it is not clear how his sons should, immediately after his death, have had more courage or been less threatened, when they published the poem. What Foscolo says on this point in § 169 *sqq.*, and especially in § 180, is, after all, very artificial and unclear ; the same criticism applies to Del Lungo's remarks, "Dino Compagni," i. 694 *sq.* Jacopo di Dante even lived in Florence, at a subsequent period, and what was done to him on account of the "Commedia"? Dante, fiercely persuaded as he was of the sacredness of his mission, might think that he was enjoying some higher protection, and would therefore not shrink from any danger he was incurring for the good cause.—A valuable testimony for the diffusion of the "Commedia," during the author's lifetime, would be that of Francesco da Barberino, if, indeed, Thomas be correct in his view (p. 68 of his book, quoted above), that the commentary to the "Documenti d'amore" was completed before 1318. There we read (fol. 63^{b}, p. 192 in Thomas) : "Hunc Dante Arigherii in quodam suo opere, quod dicitur Comedia et de infernalibus inter cetera multa tractat, comendat protinus ut magistrum, et certe si quis illud opus bene

conspiciat, videre poterit ipsum Dantem super ipsum Virgilium vel longo tempore studuisse vel in parvo tempore plurimum profecisse." These words would, indeed, seem to prove not alone acquaintance with certain passages, but the publication of a large portion of the work. However, I think that we must rather conclude from this passage that, contrary to Thomas's opinion, Francesco was still at work on his Commentary in 1321 (see above, the note to p. 196).—According to a note that appears in some MSS., the first complete copy of the "Commedia" was sent on April 1st, 1322, by the son, Jacopo Alighieri, to Guido da Polenta (see Carducci, "Studi lett.," p. 291; and C. Ricci, in the "Studi e polemiche dantesche," by O. Guerrini and C. Ricci, Bologna, 1880, p. 121 *sqq.*).—Many attempts have been made to fix the date of the single *cantiche*; but the arguments are always inadequate, if only for the reason that Dante, in the case of the historical references, may have altered and added many details at a later date, in the way that Petrarch and Boccaccio are known to have done in their works. This was Foscolo's opinion, too (§ 20 and elsewhere).

Page 292. The division of his explanations that Dante gives in the letter to Can Grande, frequently occurs in works of the scholastic period (cf. P. Meyer, "Romania," viii. 327, and Scheffer-Boichorst, *l.c.*, p. 145).

Page 292. Dante means that tragedy is written in Latin, comedy in Italian; he has not actually low modes of expression in mind. These may occur in several passages of the "Inferno," but never in that portion which he is specially treating, the "Paradiso," the *Cantica sublime.* The meaning of the words comedy and tragedy differed considerably in those days from the ancient and modern use: the drama did not come into question at all. Dante's was the universal definition at that time; he took it from Giov. Balbi's "Catholicon" (see the passage in Giuliani, "Op. lat.," ii. 193). A poem on Thomas à Becket (in Du Méril, "Poés. pop. du moyen âge," Paris, 1847, p. 73) has the verses:

> Sequor morem comici, scio vos hunc scire,
> Primum Vae et tristia, post Evax! et lyræ.

See, too, the passages on the species of style quoted above in the note to p. 258, especially Johannes Anglicus' definition (in Rockinger, p. 503), and the curious example of a tragedy he gives. Dante calls Virgil's "Æneis" a *Tragedía* ("Inf.," xx. 113); to his own book he only gave the title Comedia, or rather Comedía, to judge from "Inf.," xvi. 128, and xxi. 2. In the same way, Antonio da Tempo, too, says (p. 147): "proprius potuit appellari tragedia, licet ipse librum suum appelaverit comediam;"

and for *comedia* see Giov. Quirini, in the "Arch. Stor. per Trieste," etc. i. 147. The *divina* was not added till the sixteenth century, at the time when *divino* was the typical epithet for perfection among men of letters; so that it scarcely refers to the subject-matter. It occurs for the first time in the edition of 1513. However, according to Giuliani ("Op. lat.," ii. 203) it is contained already in very early MSS. of Boccaccio's "Vita di Dante." Is that correct?

Page 292. The authenticity of the letter to Can Grande, which used to be frequently doubted, has now been definitely proved by Giuliani, "Op. lat.," ii. 170 *sqq.* (where will be found, too, the bibliography of the dispute, p. 287 *sqq.*) and by Scheffer-Boichorst, "Aus Dante's Verb.," p. 141 *sqq.*

Page 293. "Itinerarium mentis in Deum" and "Diaeta Salutis" are the titles of two of S. Bonaventura's works; the latter describes the nine days' journey of the way of salvation, and closes with a description (very abstract, it is true,) of the torments of Hell and the joys of Paradise. On the theologians as Dante's sources and models, see the very (somewhat *too*) diffuse remarks of Lubin, "Commedia di Dante," p. 210, *sqq.*; they contain good things, but also a great deal of exaggeration.

Page 294. On the vision of Lazarus, see Salimbene, p. 124; he says that he asked for the book in Marseilles, where Lazarus was said to have been bishop, and that he was told it had been lost through carelessness.

Page 294. For the bibliography of the visions of the other world, see Ozanam, "Dante et la philosophie catholique," pp. 324-424, and especially D'Ancona's admirable treatise, "I precursori di Dante," Firenze, 1874. C. Fritsche, "Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrh.," in Vollmöller's "Romanische Forschungen," ii. 247 *sqq.*, * concluded in vol. iii., pp. 337-369. * A convenient collection is P. Villari's "Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la Divina Commedia," Pisa, 1865. "Visio Tungdali" (in Latin and Old German), ed. by Albr. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882. H. Brandes, "Visio S. Pauli, ein Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur," Halle, 1885. The vision of Frate Alberico is contained in Fr. Cancellieri's "Osservazioni intorno alla questione . . . sopra l'originalità della Div. Com.," Roma, 1814, p. 131, *sqq.*, and in the edition of the "Div. Commedia," Padua, 1822, vol. v. 287 *sqq.*

Page 296. How Dante transformed Virgil's figure from the conception prevailing at the time was shown, in an extremely brilliant manner, by Comparetti, "Virgilio nel medio evo," i. 268 *sqq.*, and 282 *sqq.*

Page 298. The interpretation of the three beasts is that given by the old commentators; if we depart from it, we lose every

hold. G. Casella's explanation in his "Canto a Dante Alighieri, con un discorso intorno alla forma allegorica" (otherwise a very interesting treatise), I consider erroneous.

Page 298. It was undoubtedly Dante's intention that the outward torment should correspond with the inner condition of sin; however, he did not succeed in making this clear everywhere in detail. Scartazzini's paper, "Congruenz der Sünder und Strafen in Dante's Hölle" ("Dantejahrb., iv. 273 *sqq.*) contains much that is artificial and sophistical (see on it Witte, "Dantef.," ii. 304).

Page 300. On the unity of the moral and political scope of the "Commedia," see especially De Sanctis, "Stor. lett.," i. 152 *sq.*, and Giuliani, "Op. lat.," ii. 212 *sq.* Here, too (p. 195 *sqq.*), the principal allegory of the "Commedia" is explained in a simple and convincing manner, according to Dante's own words.

Page 300. For the innumerable interpretations of the *Veltro*, see Scartazzini, "La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, rivíduta nel testo e commentata," ii., Leipzig, 1875, p. 801 *sqq.* The early commentators understood it as a general prophecy; later, definite persons were thought of (Can Grande, Uguccione, etc.), none of whom are suitable. I have followed Fornaciari, "Studi," p. 26 *sqq.* It is very doubtful whether the three beasts, too, have a special political meaning, as Foscolo, Fraticelli, Casella and so many others have held: for Dante does not distinguish between morals and politics; the political Messiah puts a stop to vice. In any case it does not fit in well to identify them with Florence, France, and the Holy See, as is usually done. This was shown by Witte; see, too, especially Wegele, p. 437 *sqq.*

Page 302. How, in the "Commedia," the literal sense acquires its independence, was shown by De Sanctis ("Stor. lett.," i. 168 *sq.*) in his brilliant manner.

Page 303. Vaccheri and Bertacchi, "La Visione di Dante Allighieri considerata nello spazio e nel tempo," Torino, 1881, endeavoured to prove, with much learning, that the ancient conception of Dante's Hell, as being in the shape of a funnel, is not only contrary to the laws of nature, but to the words of the poet as well. They identify the hill at the beginning of the "Inferno" with the Mount of Purgatory, and therefore place the entrance to Hell by the side of the latter in the other hemisphere. From here the abyss is supposed to descend into the earth, irregular in shape, first in the form of an obtuse cone, then in concentric rings of greater or lesser width, partly entering our hemisphere, and then, in accordance with the laws of gravity, returning to the centre, whence a narrow, spiral path leads to the surface of the other hemisphere. They endeavour to prove the ap-

proximate correctness of the plan of Hell they have designed by means of the calculation of time, too, by showing that Dante describes the position of the sun each time from the point at which he happens to be standing within the earth. But may we credit Dante with all this knowledge, with all these delicate calculations, which no one has understood for six hundred years, and which can scarcely be followed even now? Besides, would Dante, who instructs so frequently and who is so fond of doing it, have left all this to be solved by his readers? Would he not have given clearer explanations? When Virgil tells Dante, at the close of the "Inferno," that they have now reached the other hemisphere, would he not have expressed himself differently, if he meant to say that they were returning to it, after having left it for a short while? And he instructs Dante with the words: "Qui è da man, quando di là è sera" ("Inf." xxxiv. 118); he could not have said this as something new, if they were coming from this hemisphere. Again, he says that the mass of earth forming the Mount of Purgatory had left the place empty *qua*, fleeing from Lucifer. What is it that has been left empty? According to V. and B.—Hell; but it can also be the passage through which the poets ascend upwards:

> Luogo è laggiù da Belzebù remoto
> Tanto, quanto la tomba si distende.

remoto is equivalent to—"si distende a tanta lontananza da lui." But Dante could not have used this expression, if this passage had been parallel with the abyss of Hell; he would have said: the cavity leads back again as far as the abyss of Hell leads down. Besides, according to V. and B., the length of the passage and of the cavity would not be in any way equal, as the former begins at the centre, while the latter passes beyond it, and returns to it with the *pozzo*.—When Dante speaks of the *fondo della trista conca* ("Inf.," ix. 16), he probably wishes to indicate the lower Hell in general, not the bottom of a blunted funnel, ending with the 5th circle, as V. and B. think; for he has already left the 5th circle—in other words, that funnel.—The identification of the *dilettoso monte* with the Mount of Purgatory must be decidedly rejected: for, apart from the fact that the word *colle* does not fit in with such colossal height (cf. "Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.," ii. 431), the *dilettoso colle* is the happiness he would attain, not the purification indicated by Purgatory—the former being, as it were, the symbol of happiness, as imagined and striven after by man, and distinguished from the true happiness of the Earthly Paradise. Besides, when Dante reaches the Mount of Purification, he does not show himself to be in any way acquainted with it, as he would be if he had seen it once before. Again, what meaning would there be

in the beasts frightening him away from Purgatory? He does not see the wood again, either, and this represents the sinful life of men on earth, and must therefore be among men, in our hemisphere.—If the funnel of Hell is impossible according to natural laws, did Dante realise that it is impossible? Had he calculated how long this funnel would have to be? Note, too, that Boccaccio ("Comento," vol. i., p. 99) imagined the "Inferno" to be a *corno* (funnel), with a spiral path, and, by the side of this descending road, partly *cavernoso*—that is to say, the circles extending far into the hollow rocky wall, thus allowing room for lake and marsh and wood, and for the *vasta campagna* of the arch heretics; where, too, it was possible for the stench not to ascend upwards, owing to the rocky wall that closed over it. The deeper meaning of the poem often escaped the early commentators. But in the case of these external details Dante must have reckoned on the intelligence of his contemporaries; for whom else did he write? And that Hell is beneath the surface of our hemisphere is the opinion of the oldest interpreters. Dante's son, Jacopo, too, says in the "Dottrinale" (cap. 57):

Figurati l'inferno
Con atto sempiterno
Sotto la terra stabile
Della quarta abitabile
Uno scendere addentro
Cerchiato infino al centro . . .
Digradando l'ampiezza
Dal sommo alla bassezza.

And of Purgatory he says (cap. 58) that it is:

Opposito alle spalle
Della contatta valle.

Page 305. Dante's Purgatory rises on the Western Hemisphere, south of the equator, being antipodal to Jerusalem. On the motives that induced the poet to place the Mountain, with the Earthly Paradise, in this unknown region of the earth, which gave free play to the imagination, see the brilliant remarks of Ozanam, "Dante et la phil. cath.," p. 142, and Fornaciari, "Studi su Dante," p. 106. The legends mostly place the Purgatory inside the earth, like Hell; but in the vision of Wettin it is in the open air, and, though not a mountain itself, it comprises mountains, that reach the sky.

Page 304. For the fact that the first canto does not really belong to the "Inferno," and is the prologue to the whole, see Casella, *l.c.*, p. 24. On the numeric symbolism in the "Commedia" see Carducci, in D'Ancona's "Vita Nuova," p. 209. The same (p. 56) discusses the derivation of the *terzina* from

the *serventese*. Its derivation from the *stornello* of popular poetry, which H. Schuchardt endeavoured to demonstrate ("Ritornell u. Terzine," Halle, 1875), is improbable (cf. G. Paris, "Romania," iv. 491).

Page 310. Why does only Francesca speak? The explanation I have adopted is Foscolo's ("Discorso," § 154).

Page 312. There has been considerable dispute as to who this mysterious Divine messenger really is (see, in the last instance, Michelangeli, in the "Propugn.," xvi. 1°, p. 469 *sqq.*). I still continue to regard him as an angel, this being the view likewise of the early commentators. The reasons against this, advanced by the Duca di Sermoneta, appear to me to have been very well refuted by Br. Bianchi.

Page 331. The writings of Francesco de Sanctis on Dante are (in addition to the section devoted to him in the "Storia della lett. ital.," i. 148-261): "Dell' argomento della Divina Commedia" (in the "Saggi critici," 3rd ed., Napoli, 1874, p. 363); "Carattere di Dante e la sua utopia" (*ib.*, p. 378); "Pier della Vigna" (*ib.*, p. 393); "La Divina Commedia," versione di F. Lamennais (*ib.*, p. 410); "Francesca da Rimini" (in the "Nuovi saggi critici," Napoli, 1872, p. 1); "Il Farinata" (*ib.*, p. 21); "L'Ugolino" (*ib.*, p. 51).

Page 332. The commentary of Graziolo de' Bambagioli, which is said to have been written three years after Dante's death, deals only with the "Inferno." It is not yet edited, and is contained in a MS. at Seville, which P. Ewald had copied, and which Witte intended publishing when he died. There is a fragment of it at Siena, too (cf. "Giorn. d. lett. ital.," ii. 454). * This commentary has now been published: "Il commento all' Inferno di Graziolo de' Bambaglioli," ed. by Antonio Fiammazzo, Udine, 1892. * The "Comento alla cantica dell' Inferno d'autore anonimo," published by Lord Vernon, Firenze, 1848, is not merely a literal translation of Graziolo's commentary, according to L. Rocca, in the "Propugn.," xix., 1°, p. 8. See on this point likewise K. Hegel, "Ueber den historischen Wert der ältesten Dante-Commentare," Leipzig, 1878, p. 20. In this treatise will be found general particulars concerning the commentaries on the "Commedia." * Since the appearance of Hegel's treatise the following early commentaries have been published (in addition to that of Graziolo, quoted above): "La Commedia di Dante Alighieri col comento inedito di S. Talice da Ricaldone. Pubblicato per cura di V. Promis e di C. Negroni," Torino, 1886; ed. 2, 1888.—"Benvenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam, nunc primum integre in lucem editum, sumptibus G. W. Vernon, curante J. Ph. Lacaita," 5 vols., Florence, 1887.—"Fratris Johannis de Serravalle translatio et comentum totius libri Dantis Aldigherii

cum textu Italico Fratris Bartholomaei a Colle. Nunc primum edita," Prati, 1891. *—The series of Dante interpreters in Florence down to Landino is given by A. Wesselofsky, "Il Paradiso degli Alberti," Bologna, 1867, vol. i., parte ii., p. 215. * Luigi Rocca, "Di alcuni commenti della Divina Commedia composti nei primi venti anni dopo la morte di Dante," Firenze, 1891.—Ludwig Volkmann, "Iconografia Dantesca," Leipzig, 1897; English translation, London, 1899. *—Finally, some of the more recent of the numerous editions of the "Commedia" may be noted: Witte's *édition de luxe*, "La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna," Berlino, 1862, with an admirable introduction on the history of the text. After the large edition, Witte in the same year published a small one, *carelessly reprinted in 1892.* That of Brunone Bianchi, "La Commedia di Dante Alighieri," with an intelligent commentary; ed. 6, Firenze, 1863, since which time others have appeared. That of Fraticelli: "La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri," Firenze, 1871. That of Scartazzini, Leipzig, vol. i., 1874, ii., 1875, iii., 1882; with a very copious commentary (especially for the last two vols.; * in the second edition, 1900, the "Inferno" volume has been levelled up to the others *); very useful because it brings together scattered material, but by no means so perfect as the editor thinks. * An *edizione minore* appeared at Milan in 1893; ed. 3, 1899. * Giuliani's edition: "La Commedia di Dante Allighieri, raffermata nel testo giusta la ragione e l'arte dell'autore" (text only), Firenze, 1880. Lubin's edition, which has been quoted several times, with an enormous introduction that overpowers the reader with its abstruse and diffuse learning, before he reaches the text. The commentary is very defective in the historical parts. * "La Divina Commedia, con commento secondo la scolastica," ed. by G. Berthier, Friburgo, Svizzera, 1892, etc. "La Divina Commedia," con commento del Prof. G. Poletto, 3 vols., Roma, 1894. "La Divina Commedia," con il commento di Tommaso Casini; 4ª ed., riveduta e corretta, Firenze, 1895. "La Divina Commedia," illustrata nei luoghi e nelle persone; a cura di Corrado Ricci, Milano, 1896-1898.—"Dizionario Dantesco" . . . compilato dal Prof. D. G. Poletto, 7 vols., Siena, 1885-1887. Scartazzini, "Enciclopedia Dantesca," Milano, 1896-1899. Paget Toynbee, "A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante," Oxford, 1898. *

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 23, line 9, *for* "Perapetician" *read* "Peripatetic".
Page 25, line 15, *for* "emnity" *read* "enmity".
Page 43, line 19, *for* "Bologna" *read* "Orleans".
Page 53, line 12 from end, strike out the comma at end of line.
Page 54, line 6, *for* "Gattilufio" *read* "Gattilusio".
Page 54, line 11, *for* "Ferrari" *read* "Ferrarino".
Page 58, line 15, *for* "Italian" *read* "Sicilian".
Page 75, line 16, *between* "Macconi" *and* "while" *insert the following:* "to Lucca Buonagiunta Urbiciani and Dotto Reali, and to Pistoia Meo Abbracciavacca;".
Page 80, line 15, *replace this line by the following:* "Guittone's thirty-fifth canzone, two more pieces of his, and others by Finfo del Buono, Monte Andrea, Chiaro Davanzati and Ser Alberto da Massa, all of whom are imitators of Guittone in this respect. He and his school".
Page 108, line 3 from end, *for* "at any rate, exactly" *read* "at any rate exactly,".
Page 116, line 10 from end, *for* "Milo" and "Bertha" *read* "Milon et Berthe".
Page 123, line 3, *for* "Pulei" *read* "Pulci".
Page 151, line 13, *strike out the comma after* "In this".
Page 200, line 9 from end, *for* "Ricciardi" *read* "Riccardi".
Page 250, line 12 from end, *after* "Purgatorio" *insert* "(ii. 112)".

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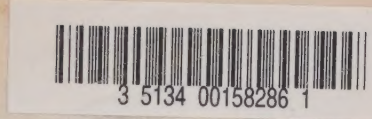
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